

SEARCH FOR THE YEAR OF BHĀRATA WAR.

•SHRIRAM SATHE

परिवृत्तो हि भगवान्
सहस्रांशुर्दिवाकरः

त्रिंशत्सु प्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः
सालाब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु
षोडशसु कलौ कालेष्वप्यशतासु च
समासु समतीतासु शकनानामपि भूभुजान्

अन्तरे चैव सं प्राप्ते कलिद्व्याप्रयोरभूत्
समन्तपद्मके युद्धं कुरुपाण्डवसेनयोः॥

ABOUT THE BOOK

The Mahabharata War is a very significant event in Indian History. The fixation of the date of this event, supported by scientific evidences, has great significance in that it helps in setting the chronological frame to a large extent. The scholars then, with renewed confidence, would be able to probe much deeper into still ancient and Vedic times. Most of the important material published and debated so far on the date of Mahabharata War, about 120 works to be exact, were referred and analysed in the present volume to give stimulus for further study.

SEARCH FOR THE YEAR OF
BHARATA WAR

—SHRIRAM SATHE

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By *SHRIRAM SATHE*

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FOREWORD

“O God, this child suffering from illness is yours ! I am offering it at your feet ; you may save or kill”.—Reminding the mother of her earlier utterance, the boy expressed his determination of living a bachelor’s life by saying, “As I am already offered to God, you should not expect from me anything for the family. I have to devote myself to the noble cause of serving the Motherland.”

The boy, in this dialogue was, indeed, Umakant Keshav Apte alias Babasaheb Apte who was born in 1903. He lost his father in 1919. This dialogue took place between him and his mother when his mother asked him to get married after his passing matriculation in 1920.

Sri Babasaheb Apte served as a school teacher from 1920 to 1924, but resigned his job when he was not allowed to tell stories of patriots to his students. In 1926, he came in contact with Dr. K. B. Hedgewar, the founder of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, whose inspiration made him dedicate his entire life to R. S. S. work. He became a *pracharaka* (full time organiser) since 1931 and worked as such till the end of his life in 1972.

Sri Apte’s life was a best example of ceaseless activities and acquisition of knowledge that can be compared only to that of our ancient seers. Bharat was his venerable God and he inspired lakhs of R. S. S. swayamsevakas to follow his example. Every year he toured the entire country and awakened patriotism in the hearts of the people by his nectarous speeches. He was a first rate orator having ample information and extra-ordinary command over Hindi, Marathi, Bengali and English languages. Though he began to learn Sanskrit in his middle age, his studious efforts not only helped him to gain command over that language but also infused and inspired others to follow suit. It was with his inspiration that two Sanskrit periodicals, *Bharati* from Jaipur and *Bhavitavyam* from Nagpur were started and are being continuously published.

Sri Apte was himself a proficient writer and contributed innumerable articles on social, historical and cultural topics. In 1928, he wrote and published the biography of Punjab Kesari *Lala Lajpat Rai* and in 1930 that of *Śilpa Kalā Nidhi K. N. Vaze*. His book entitled 'Hamāre Rāṣṭrajīvana Kī Paramparā' published in 1950, highlights the stories of Daśāvatāras (regarding the incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu) with his sincerest attempt to present the well knit picture of ideal and continuous development of our national life. This work is a crystal clear testimony of his research aptitude.

Recently in 1930, Shri Bhanupratap Shukla, a renowned Hindi writer has collected and published in Hindi the various articles of Sri Babasaheb in a book entitled *Mṛtyunjaya Bharata* (The Immortal Bharat). The very title of the book indeed gives a glimpse of the thinking of Sri Apte. For the last 2000 years, Bharat is facing the foreign invasions of all types. We have so many examples in the history of the world showing that the mighty empires and civilizations were completely destroyed by such invasions. But Bharat has survived all. The reason of this longevity and tenacity, according to Sri Babasaheb, lies in our long past glorious history, not only political but all sided one, dealing with all facets of our national life. Every nation is naturally proud of its history and culture and it is no wonder that Bharat with its hoary past and with perhaps the longest unbroken cultural tradition in the world, would be justly proud of its heritage.

Late Babasaheb Apte was not only proud of our history but also was an ardent scholar who always stressed that proper study of our glorious past would tremendously help us in building a bright future of Bharat. Rather unpleasingly, he often pointed out the non-presentation of our entire national history engulfing all spheres of our national life and all parts of the country simultaneously. He put in the best of his efforts to inspire many to get rid of this historiographical drawback but unfortunately could not remove that drawback during his life time.

The need for compiling the history of Bharat which would embody all facets of our national life is now being felt more and

more. Collection of necessary data preceding any such compilation is a stupendous task. In order to offer a befitting homage to the revered soul, therefore, the Shri Babasaheb Apte Smarak Samiti resolved to continue all efforts of compilation of our entire history since the commencement of Kali yuga. The Samiti feels that this gigantic and indispensable national task can be fulfilled only by establishing district-wise centres under the able guidance of scholars in history. The Samiti has already commenced to put in their efforts since the last eight years and with the active and amalgamated cooperation from many scholars has been able to give some elementary shape to the scheme. The present book is a step in this direction.

The Shri Babasaheb Apte Smarak Samiti aims at compiling the all-sided history of India since the beginning of Kali yuga. Kali yuga is the era followed in the Hindu almanacs all over the world. It may be pointed out that the year 1983 A. D. is 5084-5085th year of Kali era. Hence the project undertaken by the Samiti amounts to the compilation of Indian history for the last 5084 years.

According to the academicians and also as it is taught at present in our educational institutions, the remotest fixed date in the India's past history is 327 B. C. which indicates the invasion on India by Alexander of Macedonia. This date is fixed primarily according to the Greek accounts. It is commonly accepted that after this invasion and in the last quarter of the 4th century B. C. Chandragupta Mourya ruled over a major part of India centred around Magadha. Further the date of the coronation of that king is taken as fixed and in the idiom of **Max Muller** 'the sheet anchor of Indian history.' Dates prior to that event are generally not accepted by the academicians as fixed ones.

Recently, the 2500th birth anniversary of Goutama Buddha was celebrated in many countries but there is still controversy about the birth date of the Buddha. New publications are coming out every year suggesting different dates. The dates of Chandragupta Mourya and Ashoka fixed by Max Muller and others in the latter half of the nineteenth century were questioned not only in their times but are being questioned even to this day. In 1981, a seminar was held in Madras, participated by many prominent

scholars from the South. The seminar had established on the basis of astronomical and Purāṇic data the date of the coronation of Ashoka as 1472 B. C. about 1200 years before the date taught at present in our schools and colleges. It is in such an atmosphere of indecision about the dates of events, say 2500 years old, that the Smaraka Samiti is contemplating to compile Indian history for the past 5100 years.

Not an easy job, of course. It may be noted that the practice of usage of Kali era is prevalent from a very long past. It is accepted that the first person known to have used the Kali era was the famous astronomer Āryabhaṭṭa whose time is taken to be not later than 5th century A. D. It means that the practice of this era is proved for the last 1500 years. Moreover, it is not yet proved that the era was not used before the time of Āryabhaṭṭa. There must have been some historical proofs accepted at the time of Āryabhaṭṭa giving the number of Kali years in his time.

Like the concept of Kali era, there are some other events the dates of which are traditionally believed by Hindus. One such event is the Bhārata War fought between the cousins—Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas 36 years before the commencement of Kali yuga. It is amply described in the epic *Mahābhārata*. According to the description, the participant kings came from all parts of India and also from beyond its borders. During the Bhārata War, most of them were slain and in almost all the kingdoms new kings were required to be coronated. The event had affected whole of the country. Even after thousands of years, the heroes are remembered and the days like Kṛṣṇa Āṣṭamī, Gītā Jayanti and Bhiṣma Āṣṭamī are observed even today. Such longstanding traditions cannot be formed without a grain of truth. Research is necessary to find out as to how and when the tradition is formed. Working accordingly, many scholars have tried to determine the date of the Bhārata War, but their conclusions vary widely. As the Samiti aims at compiling the Indian history from the commencement of Kali era, it will be helpful if our scholars are able to arrive at a unanimous decision about the date of the Bhārata War.

From this point of view, the Samiti wanted the people in general and students of history in particular to know the nature and content of the problem and the efforts made so far by many scholars regarding the solution of that problem. In this book, an attempt is made to collect the opinions of scholars and the collected material is presented in a system which may be useful to students in their future research.

Shri **Sathe** has done whatever was possible in the time available to him. It is possible that many books and articles, especially in the regional languages are not referred to herein. Many scholars may have their thoughts about this. The Samiti wishes to collect all possible material regarding this topic as well as the suggestions, which will be available to scholars in their endeavour to arrive at a date of the Bhārata War. We request the readers to indicate any significant information or suggestions in this regard.

Moropant Pingley.

Working President.

Sri Babasaheb Apte Smaraka Samithi, Nagpur.

P R E F A C E

The theme of the present work was suggested by Sri Moropant Pingley, working president of 'Sri Babasaheb Apte Samaraka Samiti', towards the end of April 1982 during my stay at Pune for the recovery of my health. Being interested in Indian history, I could at once appreciate the importance of the subject. It is commonly known that many scholars have wide range of differences regarding the date of the Bhārata War, though the reasons are not always comprehensive. Hence I have felt that this is an opportunity and decided to apply myself to collect the material.

After collecting some data, preliminary notes were prepared and circulated among some prominent scholars of Pune city. Valuable suggestions were received from them regarding the additional literature to be gone through and also regarding the presentation of the matter. On 17-8-1982, all these scholars assembled for a discussion with Sri **Moropant Pingley**. The discussion was very lively. All of them expressed the view that though scholars have not been able to accept one date of the Bhārata War so far, yet the present proposed compilation of their opinions would be necessarily useful for further efforts.

Making use of those valuable suggestions, an attempt is being made in this monograph to give the maximum possible information in a nutshell. After going through the books and articles by about 75 writers, a summary is presented herein of their conclusions regarding the date of the Bhārata War together with their justifications. The conclusions of 45 other authors are also included herein. Almost all the books and articles referred to have been published sometime during this century. Various doubts and questions about the historicity and the date of the Bhārata War were raised in the nineteenth century. Scholars then started studying the problem critically to find out answers to those questions which were raised subsequently. C. Mabel **Duff's** book *Chronology of India* published in 1899 is one of the earliest

among the publications referred herein. In **Duff's** book, we find only a reference to the date of the Bhārata War without any justification. **V. G. Aiyer's** book *The Chronology of Ancient India* published in 1901 comes next. He, however, has stated his view after having studied critically the available data. Publications referred to in the present monograph were published between 1899 to 1982. Books dealing with this subject and published in the nineteenth century were not easily available in the libraries. Studious and critical Western writers have written many books on oriental studies in the last century, but those do not deal with the date of the Bhārata War. They deal with the epic *Mahābhārata*, only for textual studies. Therefore, those books are not taken into consideration in the present monograph.

For bringing out this small monograph, I received good co-operation from many persons. In the beginning I searched for a bibliography of books dealing with the date of the Bhārata War, but could not secure one. The names of the useful books were to be decided and then the libraries were to be searched. I am very much thankful to all those interested persons and librarians with whose help I could get the required books from the libraries of, Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit (University of Poona), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Jayakar (University of Poona), Deccan College, S. P. College, Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍaḷa, Bharatiya Sanskr̥ti Kosha Maṇḍaḷa.

I am equally thankful to all those who gave me valuable suggestions after going through the preliminary notes, prominent among whom are Prof. G. H. Khare, doyen among the present day historians and Adv. V. T. Shetye of Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍaḷa, Dr. S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S. historian and retired Chief Secretary to Bihar Government, Dr. R. S. Walimbe, litterateur and critic in Marathi. Dr. G. B. Palasule and Dr. V. G. Rahrkar of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Dr. S. B. Dev and Dr. K. P. Jog of Deccan College and Dr. V. Y. Kulkarni and Prof. Bhalba Kelkar of Gīta Dharma Maṇḍaḷa.

I got valuable help from Dr. J. R. Joshi of the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, University of Poona. He did the painstaking job of reading with me the entire draft with full concentration and identified himself with the work so much that thanking him for this valuable contribution would be too formal.

Regarding the presentation of the matter, important and valuable suggestions were given by Dr. Rajeshwara Goswami and Shri S. Sripati Shastri of Pune. Though they may not like me to mention I feel it my duty to do so.

I am grateful to Dr. C. N. Parachure and artist Prakash Kulakarni for planning the design of the cover page and particularly to Shri Prakash Kulakarni for its nice get up.

I am thankful to my friend Sri N. C. Lakshminarayana of Sri Saraswati Book Depot, Hyderabad who voluntarily undertook to help print this monograph. I am also thankful to Messrs. Shivaji Press, Secunderabad for printing the monograph in a short time with meticulous care and nice get-up.

I am also thankful to Dr. S. V. Sheshagiri Rao, Osmania University, Hyderabad, who has taken great pains to prepare the index of this monograph.

The well known Navabharati Publications of Hyderabad have accepted to publish this monograph and M/s. Sahitya Niketan came forward for its distribution for which I am thankful to them.

I am presenting this monograph to the readers. This being my first attempt it is possible that there may be some shortcomings. I will be highly obliged if those shortcomings are brought to my notice.

Śankara Jayanti, Śaka, 1905

— Shriram Satho

ERRATA

- (1) The words "astrology" and "astrological" are irrelevant in this monograph. Please read "astronomy" and "astronomical" in places wherever those occur.
- (2) Likewise read "Bhavanilal Bharati" for "Bhavanilal Bharatiya". (pp. 55, 89, 95)

Page	Line	Read this	Instead of this
7	26	Other side	Otherside
8	32	work out	workout
13	1	in 1793	in 1973
17	17	Strangford	Straugford
20	6	think	thlnk
22	7	are being	arebeing
	28	minds of	minds
	31	help of	help
28	32	रब्दास्तदेव	रब्दस्तदेव
40	40	युगं	युग
42	21	युद्धं	युद्ध
46	10	beginning of	beginning as
50	32	सहस्र	सहस्त्र
	35	Antiquary	Antiquery
53	18	P. C. Sengupta	A. C. Sengupta
54	14	i. e., 5113	i. e., in 5113
70	13	3066	3139
71	30	solstice	solastice
75	24	The Bharata	the Bharata
77	25	पञ्चशतासु	पञ्चाशतासु
78	25	B. Saka	B. C.
79	10	quoted	quote

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PART I

BACKGROUND AND NATURE
OF THE
CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEM

The Mahābhārata War :

In the long history of Sanskrit literature the great epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* occupy the middle position. They are preceded by the Vedic literature and followed by the classical Sanskrit literature comprising the five mahākāvyas, dramas, etc. Of the two epics, the *Mahābhārata* is the larger one and the largest amongst all the epics of the world. It contains about a lakh verses and is eight times as long as the epic *Iliad* of Homer. Kṛṣṇa Dwaipāyana Vyāsa has compiled it and it is said to deal with all the branches of knowledge—*Vyāsocchiṣṭam jagat sarvam*.

The *Mahābhārata* describes the war which took place between the cousins, Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas on the battle field of Kurukṣetra which was situated near modern New Delhi. Almost all the kings of ancient India participated in it taking one side or the other, and were slain. New kings were required to be crowned in all the kingdoms of this country just after that war which is termed as Bhārata War. This event affected the

nation completely. Hence the date of this Bhārata War carries great importance in the chronology of ancient India and is the subject matter of this monograph.

Earlier Attempts :

It is found that till the end of the first half of this century, efforts to fix the date of the Bhārata War remained rather individual ; that is, a writer was either pleading his own conclusion or was criticising those of others. Some papers devoted to this topic were submitted to learned gatherings like the All India Oriental Conference, the Indian History Congress, etc. It is only in the latter half of this century that we find some collective efforts being made. And now the feeling that the date of the Bhārata War should be conclusively fixed is gradually gaining ground. Seminars were held in Bhopal, Varanasi and Allahabad but the present author could not obtain the detailed discussions which took place there. Much interest is being taken by Vidura Sevā Āshram which was established at the place which was said to be the abode of Vidura after he left Hastināpura. That institution had arranged two different symposia to which Sanskritists, Archaeologists and Indologists from India and abroad were invited. The first symposium was held for three days in June 1974 and was attended by five scholars only. Subsequently Dr. D. C. **Sircar** and Dr. H. D. **Sankalia** opened a controversy about the historicity of the Bhārata War and as a reaction to that, fourteen scholars attended the second symposium in October 1975 when, apart from these fourteen, other twenty seven scholars had sent their papers. Vidura Sevā Āshram published all these papers in English and Hindi in 1979.

Due to the controversy raised by Dr. **Sircar** and Dr. **Sankalia**, two scholars namely S. P. **Gupta** and K. S. **Ramachandran** edited and published a book *Mahabharata : Myth and Reality-Differing Views* in 1976. The book is a good collection of contributions from more than forty writers amongst whom some have given their conclusions about the date of the Bhārata War. In Tamil Nadu, an organisation started by **N. Mahalingam** for fixing the dates of prominent persons belonging to early Indian history on the basis of astronomical data, had arranged

two seminars, one in February 1979 and the other in February 1981. Many of the papers read in the seminars were prepared under the guidance of K. **Srinivasa Raghavan** a retired Professor of Mathematics from Vivekananda College, Madras, who had studied for more than 25 years the literature of the ancient past and the astronomical facts mentioned in it. The papers read in the first seminar were published in 1980 under the name *Mythology to History Through Astronomy*, and those read in the second seminar were published in 1982 under the name *A Peep Into the Historic Past*. From all this, it can be inferred that there is a growing demand for the fixation of the date of the Bhārata War.

The problem of the chronology of ancient India is so complicated that even the eras of Vikrama and Śālivāhana, which have been in vogue for a long time in several parts of India are not free from controversy. Scholars are not unanimous about their commencement and also about the identity of the persons whose names they carry. In such circumstances it is but natural that the fixation of the time of the Bhārata War also presents many difficulties.

Astrological Device :

That the Hindus consider the events described in the *Mahābhārata* as authentic is indicated by the fact that some of the dates of those events, like Bhīṣma āṣṭamī, are sacred for them even today. Hindus accept that the Bhārata War was fought at the junction of Dwāpara and Kali yugas, 36 years before the beginning of Kali yuga. From times immemorial they are accustomed to reciting the unavoidable sankalpa or deśakāla-sankīrtana¹ at the commencement of any ceremony or rite, whether daily or occasional. In that sankalpa, the progress of time since the beginning of creation is recited. Therein, the beginning of Kali yuga is fixed as 2 O'clock, 27 minutes and 30 seconds of the night of first day of the first month of the year

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1. *Sankalpa* or *desakalasankirtana* : This occurs as the initial part of any sacred rite performed by the Hindus. In that, the purpose of the rite together with reference to time and place is recited with necessary modifications,

Pramāthi. At this time seven planets were in conjunction with Meṣa. The French astronomer Bailley and other European astronomers have admitted the exactness of this conjunction as correct to the second. Reckoning from this beginning of Kali yuga, Hindu astronomers prepare their almanacs from year to year and these are in vogue throughout the country from Himalayas to Kanyakumari.²

According to Hindu almanacs, 195 crores of years have elapsed since the beginning of creation. This period is divided into Kalpas, Manus, Mahāyugas and Yugas. At present (in 1982 A. D.) we are in the 5084th year of Kali yuga belonging to the 28th Mahāyuga of the 7th Manu in the Brahma Kalpa. The history of the period before the beginning of 28th Mahāyuga is available to us in the *Purāṇas* in a very brief form suitable for preservation in oral tradition. In the history from the beginning of 28th Mahāyuga upto the beginning of Kali yuga only the prominent dynasties are mentioned. Regarding the period commencing from the Bhārata War onwards i. e. 36 years before the beginning of Kali yuga, the *Purāṇas* give details like the names of the dynasties, names of the kings, duration of their reign, etc., in a chronological sequence².

Astrology and Historiography :

It is not easy to preserve the history of such a long period. In order to preserve and hand it over to future generations intact, Hindus have used their deep knowledge of astronomy. The positions of the stars at a particular time, and their motions are fixed. This knowledge was used to denote the time of a particular event or the interval between two events. The written word may perish, mistakes are likely to crop up while reciting and copying but the reference to the positions and movements of the luminaries are not perishable or refutable. Such references are rather error proof. The history based on such references also was revised from time to time. This indicates the Hindu method of writing the history of such a long duration and of a vast nation.

2. Kota Venkatachalam, *The Plot in Indian Chronology*, Vijayawada, 1953, P. 1.

Historical Sense :

In view of such a vast country as India, it is very likely that discrepancies will creep into any written history. To avoid this and also to be sure that the new history is written properly—and also for many other requirements of society—the learned and wise Hindus used to come together, from time to time, to discuss and take decisions. One such conference held at Naimiṣāraṇya had continued for twelve years. At such conferences new recensions of *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* were prepared. The discrepancies were removed, new matter was added and where necessary the old matter was summarised and revised. It may be pointed out that recensions do not always indicate the subjective purposeful modifications but they may indicate also the liveliness of the related society. In the present context, recensions have proved the capacity of the Hindus to accept the necessary changes in keeping with the change in circumstances while keeping intact the core based on ideals.

Phases in Historiography :

Such conferences on the national level became rarer and rarer during the last 2000 years. During this time the Hindus remained busy in fighting against the foreign invaders. Those invasions included cultural invasions also. It was a life-and-death struggle for the nation and the available energies were directed to the struggle. Naturally the cultural and constructive activities diminished. The present available recensions of the epics are dated from the third century B. C. to the third century A. D. It can be easily inferred that no conferences of the type of the Naimiṣāraṇya Conference took place since then for the purpose of removing the discrepancies in, and revising the historical compositions. Much of the literature was destroyed by the invaders and was ruined in the course of time. Discrepancies might have crept in due to the scribal errors³ also. In the conferences recensions and revival used to take place after full discussion and such recensions used to command full faith on the part of the readers or listeners. However, because of the long break in this process of revision, the writing of history was

3. Katre S. M. *Indian Textual Criticism*, Deccan College, Pune, 1946.

harmed and it was exactly at this juncture that the Europeans stepped in with the critical study of the historical works.

Views of European Historians :

Foundations for the modern Indian historical research were laid down by Sir William **Jones**. He had travelled widely in West Asia and India. He was the founder and president of the Royal Asiatic Society established in Bengal in 1784, the aim of which was to study the history and antiquities, the arts, science and literature of Asia. Sir William **Jones** died in 1794. According to him the time of the conquest of Śri Lankā by Rāma is 1200 B. C. and he further thinks that Sandrocottus of the Greek historians is no other than Chandragupta Mourya who was, hence, a contemporary of Alexander. Afterwards Col. **Wilford** and Prof. **Lassen** supported him by stating that the Sanskrit drama *Mudrārākṣasa* supports the identity of Sandrocottus with Chandragupta Mourya. **Lassen** also remarked that the recension of *Mahābhārata* ascribed to Śounaka was the second one, the date of which is 450 B. C.

Reference may be made to **Weber** who connects the events from the *Mahābhārata* with Vedic literature. **Ludwig**, on the other hand, stated that the epic makes reference to the allegorical struggle between the Sun and darkness. **Sorensen**, after having devoted his entire life time to the study of the epic, concluded that the epic in its first stage was the product of a single mind and it contained 8000 stanzas. **Adolk Holtzman**, according to his inversion theory, stated that Kauravas were the original heroes of the epic but later redactors have made them villains. **Von Schroder** thought that bards of Kurus had deprecated *Kṛṣṇa* who was a tribal god but it was the defeat of the Kurus that led to the current exaltation of *Kṛṣṇa*.

According to **Grierson**, the epic draws a picture of the struggle between Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. **Hopkins** tried to reconcile the apparent contradictions in the epic by assuming that the poem depicts different stages of culture. **Hertel** endeavoured on the same lines. **Joseph Dalhmann** declared the epic to be pre-Buddhist and the work of a single inspired poet ; and the event of war to be unhistorical. According to S. **Levy**, the main

purpose of the epic is to induce the Kṣatriyas to worship Lord Kṛṣṇa. **Barth** has concluded that the *Mahābhārata* is a uniform work. **Jacobi** has stated that the original epic is pre-Buddhist but the present form of it was prepared not later than second century B. C. E. **Washburn Hopkins** avers that the *Mahābhārata* in its present form was composed after the invasion of Alexander. M. **Winternitz** is of the view that the present *Mahābhārata* is not earlier than 400 B. C. and not later than 400 A. D.

Whirlwind of Views :

These are only a few examples of the views expressed by some European scholars. There are a number of other views expressed by, for example, **Max Muller, Smith, Pargiter**, etc. These Western scholars have made serious efforts to study the original ancient literature of India, China, Greece, Persia, Tibet, etc. Beginning with the linguistic study, these scholars have worked on the historical tradition and literature of these countries critically, sceptically and scientifically. And with this, they have reached some conclusions and have propounded some theories which go against the traditional beliefs current in those countries. Their strenuous efforts and deep, critical and prolonged study created a whirlwind of alternative views and doubts to such an extent that the real facts became obliterated. The historicity of the *Mahābhārata* as well as the date of the Bhārata War are the glaring examples of this phenomenon.

Otherside of the Coin :

It need not be believed that this whirlwind caused by some Western scholars against the traditional current beliefs of Hindus was all created intentionally and with a definite plan. Some, however, had invented new theories based on imperialistic ideas or had utilised the invented theories of others for their imperial designs. But it is to be noted that there were many scholars who appreciated the ancient Hindu knowledge and literature. H. H. **Wilson**, in the introduction to his translation of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, observed that a very large portion of the *Itihasas* and *Purāṇas* is genuine. In his history of Rajasthan Col. **Tod** says 'There is ample material for writing the history of India. The first of these are the *Purāṇas* and the genealogical

legends of the princes which, obscured as they are by the mythological details, allegory and improbable circumstances, contain many facts that serve as beacons to direct the research of a historian. Every maṭha or monastery also preserves a list of the succession of its heads."

Traditional View :

Strenuous efforts, critical study, maintenance of records and similar other devices of the Western scholars have no doubt created an atmosphere of confusion in the minds of Hindus regarding the historicity and authenticity of the epics and *Purāṇas* during the last two centuries. Prior to the period no doubt is found expressed about the historicity of the Bhārata War and its date. Considering the period upto the end of the eighteenth century, only one example of Kalhaṇa, the author of *Rājataranginī* is found who gives the date of the Bhārata War as 2448 B. C. based on Varāhamihira's quotation of Vṛddha Garga. Kalhaṇa too never doubted the date of the beginning of Kali yuga which is taken as doubtful today. At present, not only the duration of other yugas but even the beginning of Kali yuga is deemed as mythology. Thus, the things which were believed as facts during thousands of years have become myths since the advent of the nineteenth century. In this way, when the historicity of the *Mahābhārata* itself was deemed as doubtful, no necessity was felt on the part of the Western scholars to fix the date of the Bhārata War.

Methodological Impropriety :

Such being the case, most of the Western scholars have not attempted to workout the chronology of the events in the *Mahābhārata* story. Obviously it was irrelevant because they never had any faith in the historicity of an event like the Bhārata War. They, however, have tried to find out the date of composition of a particular recension of the epic or *Purāṇas*. Against this background it happens that a reader becomes disheartened even though he may refer to the critical study presented by the Western scholars with a view to finding out their conclusions regarding the date of the Bhārata War. For, very few among those like **Pargiter** and **Duff** have made an effort to determine the date of the Bhārata War.

Looking to the epic not as history but as poetry, Western scholars tried to find the different linguistic and poetical strata. And in consequence the so called discrepancies were taken as interpolations. The word interpolation itself denotes the intention of the interpolator to interpolate. No such intention, however, is found at any stage. The so called interpolations are, really speaking, scribal errors. It is quite natural that in a vast country like India, when an epic is being transmitted through recitation, translation and elaboration in various regional dialects, discrepancies may creep in. Such discrepancies were exaggerated beyond measure by the Western scholars in their publications and the result was not unexpected, namely, the withering away of faith in the authenticity of the epic as well as the date of the Bhārata War in the minds of common Indian readers and listeners.

Change in Atmosphere :

But it is a good sign that in spite of all such adverse propaganda, the faith in the authenticity of the epic is being maintained. In the beginning of this century, C. V. **Vaidya**, V. Gopal **Iyer**, T. S. **Narayanasastri** and others came forward with their studies, proving not only the historicity of the *Mahābhārata* but also discussing the date of the Bhārata War. It should be admitted that the date of the Bhārata War is a crucial point in Indian history. It is also pointed out that the real modern history of our country starts from the date of the Bhārata War, in keeping with the procedures laid down in the *Purāṇas*. For history prior to the Bhārata War is not supplied elaborately while that is not the case with the events which followed that war, which are given with elaboration. Any attempt to fix the chronology of that period has to take help from the genealogies recorded in the *Purāṇas*. For those records are the only available sources for a historian. No other source which may furnish the necessary information is available.

Importance of Vamśas :

The English historian V. A. **Smith**⁴ admits that "The most systematic record of the Indian historical tradition is that,

4. *The Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, Oxford, 1957, P. 11.

preserved in the dynastic lists of the *Purāṇas*. Five out of the eighteen works of this class, namely the *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Viṣṇu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Bhāgavata* contain such lists. The *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Vāyu*, as well as the *Matsya* which has large later additions, appear to be the earliest and the most authoritative.... Modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the Purāṇic lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition.”

After going through a number of books dealing with the chronology of ancient India, it may be observed that almost all the writers are required to use the lists of the kings in the *Purāṇas*. While writing, the writers start from the date of the Bhārata War or otherwise they take for granted particular dates like that of the coronation of Chandragupta Mourya or the death (Nirvāṇa)⁵ of the Buddha and from that date they go back upto the date of the Bhārata War. They are convinced that the date of the Bhārata War should be fixed and for that the lists of the kings in the *Purāṇas* is the only ladder either to go up or down.

Basis of Argument :

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of writers are trying to decide the date of the Bhārata War. Different beliefs seem to be prevalent in their minds while dealing with the subject. One traditional belief is that the Kali yuga began in 3102 B. C. and the Bhārata War took place at the junction of Dwāpara and Kali yugas. Some are convinced that the date of coronation of Chandragupta Mourya is about 320 B. C. and that is the sheet-anchor of Indian history. Others base their rendering of the chronology on the date of the death (Nirvāṇa) of the Buddha, that is, 487 B. C. Reference may also be made to the ideology based on the concept of the Aryan race and the invasion of India by the Aryans. Some believe in the correctness of the astronomical references in the *Mahābhārata*. On the contrary, others, having no faith in astronomical references found in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Puranas*, etc., or in almanacs, *sankalpas*, etc., express the need of more concrete

5. *Nirvana* : The term with which the death of Goutama Buddha is referred to.

data. In this manner the writers are divided in their respective hypotheses. However, there are also writers who base their writings on more than one of the above mentioned postulations. C. V. Vaidya, for example, believes in the date of the beginning of Kali yuga and also that of the coronation of Chandragupta Mourya in c. 320 B. C.

Beginning of Kali yuga as Basis :

T. S. Narayanasastri, N. Jagannatharao, Kota Venkatachalam and others are strong advocates of the date of the beginning of Kali yuga, that is, 3102 B. C. as well as the genealogies in the *Purāṇas*. And it was on this basis that T. S. Narayanasastri in 1916, in his book, *Age of Shankara*, enumerated the list of Magadha kings since the Bhārata War upto the end of the Gupta dynasty in 83 B. C. Kota Venkatachalam in 1948 and D.S. Trivedi in 1963 worked out on similar lines and supplied the chronology from the Bhārata War upto the Indian independence in 1947. All of them have firm conviction that the Purāṇic genealogical list is the only and the best available source for writing the history of India. Kota Venkatachalam in his book *The Plot in Indian Chronology* has given the lists of kings belonging to Moon-clan (Chandra-Vamśa) of Hastinapura and the Sun-clan (Sūrya-Vamśa) of Ayodhyā, from the Bhārata War onwards for 1468 years. That scholar seems to be very emotional against the motivated theories given by the Western Indologists.

Kota Venkatachalam⁶ says, "The Orientalists from Europe have been persistently dinning into the ears of their credulous Indian disciples that for the purpose of reconstructing the history of ancient India, Purāṇic literature is altogether useless and that the reliance should be placed solely on inscriptions, coins, buildings and the accounts of the foreign travellers who visited India in those times. Strictly speaking, the ancient history of no Western country is based primarily on such evidence."

... "In fact these very Orientalists could not produce any inscriptions, coins, buildings or any genuine historical evidence for their theory of the contemporaneity of Alexander or Selucus with Chandragupta Mourya. Yet, they made it the foundation,

6. Op. Cit., P. 5, 6.

the sheet-anchor of Indian history and from that point they count backwards and forwards the reigns of the kings as given in the so called useless *Purāṇas*. They use these *Purāṇas* where it suits them but they ignore that the starting year of the kings lists in these very *Purāṇas* is the year of the Bhārata War i. e., 3138 B. C.”

With this, making reference to the doubt regarding the certainty of the period of fourth century B. C. assigned to Chandragupta Mourya **Kota Venkatachalam** further quotes V. A. **Smith**⁷ as follows, “Unfortunately no monuments have been discovered which can be referred to with certainty to the period of Chandragupta Mourya and the archaeologist is unable to support the statements of Greek observers.”

While reading the books of T. S. **Narayanasastri** and others, the reader of the twentieth century feels that the dates of the Indian historical events are shifted back by the writers by a difference of many centuries. In the reader's mind, however, the dates of these events are often synchronised with the dates of so many other events of this as well as of other countries. As an effect, suspicions rise in the mind of the common reader which demand satisfactory answers from the champions of the newly invented chronology. The starting point of the Gupta dynasty, according to a general reader is the 4th century A. D. According to **Kota Venkatachalam**, it is the 4th century B. C. and hence, as K.C. **Varma**⁸ has pointed out, “these writers will have to explain the Mandasor, Veraval and such other inscriptions which belong to the Gupta's and which are dated as belonging to the 4th century A. D.” Similarly, many other explanations for the synchronic events of the same type should also have to be furnished. (In 1957, **Kota Venkatachalam** in his book, *Chronology of Ancient Hindu History—Part II* has explained his views on the Mandasor inscription on page 41.)

Phonetical Resemblance :

As has been already pointed out above, the contemporaneity of Chandragupta Mourya with Alexander was first mooted

7. Op. Cit., P. 142.

8. *Age of Bharata War*—Edited by [G. C. Agarwala, Vidur Kuti, Motilal Banarsi Das, Delhi, 1979.

by Sir William **Jones** in 1773. The Greek historians, giving the account of India during Alexander's invasion in 327 B. C., make reference to three successive kings belonging to the Eastern part of this country. The first name is that of Xandrames. The second one is Sandrocottus who assassinated Xandrames and subsequently occupied the throne. He was followed by Sandrocyptus. These three names, according to those historians signify the successive kings. Out of these three, only one name i. e., *Sandrocottus* was underlined by Sir William **Jones**. As it resembled *Chandragupta* and only on the basis of the phonetical resemblance between *Chandragupta* and *Sandrocottus* he declared that both the terms signify one and the same individual. Except this phonetic similarity there is no other proof furnished by Sir William **Jones**, Col. **Wilford**, **Lassen**, **Max Muller**, etc., to establish the identity of Chandragupta and Sandrocottus.

As the history goes, Mahāpadmananda or one of his sons preceded Chandragupta Mourya ; and Bindusar, son of Chandragupta Mourya came to the throne after his father. There is no phonetic similarity between the names Mahāpadmananda and Xandrames ; and likewise Bindusar cannot be Sandrocyptus. Sir William **Jones** and **Max Muller**, however, are silent about these two names. According to other Western scholars, Xandrames is the variant pronunciation of Mahāpadmananda ; and on the other hand the alternative names Sandrocyptus and Sandrocottus signify nothing but Chandragupta Mourya. **Max Muller**⁹, has asserted as follows : "From the survey of available information Chandragupta Mourya is the same person as Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus of the Greek account and whatever changes may have to be introduced in the earlier chronology of India, nothing will ever shake the date of Chandragupta Mourya. That date is the sheet-anchor of Indian history". And indeed the whole of the history of ancient India seems to be constructed on this hollow basis.

Misleading Identification :

It is not that **Max Muller** was not opposed during his life time. **M. Troyer**, a French scholar, had brought to his notice

9. **Max Muller** : *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, Allahabad, 1859, P. 155.

that second Chandragupta of Gupta dynasty was the contemporary of Alexander while the date of coronation of Chandragupta Mourya is 1534 B. C. M. **Troyer**, in 1859, disputed the identification of Chandragupta Mourya with Sandrocottus in his introduction to the translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and communicated his views to **Max Muller** from whom he did not receive any reply. Instead of discussing with M. **Troyer** and reviewing his view point, **Max Muller**,¹⁰ as if he was wantonly sticking to his point, wrote, "although other scholars and particularly M. **Troyer**, in his edition of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, have raised objections, *we shall see* that the evidence in favour of the identity of Chandragupta is such as to admit no reasonable doubt."

As a matter of fact, **Max Muller**¹¹ himself had his own doubts. In his book, he says, "although we look in vain in the literature of Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists for any allusion of Alexander's conquest and although it is impossible to identify any of the historical events, related by Alexander's companions with the historical traditions of India, the name of Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus, the Sanskrit Chandragupta is there to form a connecting link between the history of the East and the West."

As **Max Muller** was unable to find out Alexander's name in the Brahmanic or Buddhist records, the name of Ashoka Mourya also is not found anywhere in the ancient Greek literature. Though, on the basis of the Rock Edict XIII Ashoka is claimed to have ruled over the five Greek kings and subsequently his policy of conquest of Dharma was very successful, it is strange that ancient Greek literature knows no Ashoka or his connection with any king of the Greek origin. Greek writers belonging to the first century B. C. as well as the first century A. D. refer to Sandrocottus but never to Bindusara, Ashoka or any other Mourya. And thus the absence of the names of Bindusara and Ashoka in the Greek literature raises a reasonable doubt regarding the identity of Sandrocottus with Chandragupta Mourya. Moreover, whatever coins authorised by the Mourya dynasty have been discovered so far are of Punch-mark type and not of the Greek type with human figures engraved on them. It

10. Op. Cit., P. 141-143. (Italics by the author).

11. Op. Cit., P. 141-143.

is surprising that in spite of the close contacts with the Greeks, the Mouryas did not take to the type of better looking currency though they were amply prosperous.

Looking to all these things, one wonders as to what prompted Sir William **Jones** to suggest the date of the coronation of Chandragupta Mourya only on the resemblance of his name with Sandrocottus and what made **Max Muller** assert this date as the sheet-anchor of Indian history. Justice K. T. **Telang**¹² of Bombay, while lodging his emphatic protest against these Western Indologists especially **Max Muller** has said in 1875 that the foregone conclusions in the minds of these Westerners were doing damage to the antiquity of Sanskrit literature and to borrow the terse vigour of the language of **Chillingworth** 'they dream what they desire, and believe their own dream.'

Background of Wrong Theory :

What is the background of **Jones's** statement ? He was East India Company's civil servant in Persia and came to Calcutta as Chief Justice, when Warren **Hastings** became the Governor General in Bengal. By 1774, he learnt from his Sanskrit teacher Radhakant about the traditional history from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Against the background of the then current Christian belief that creation took place at 9-00 a. m. on 23-10-4004 B. C. (as computed by the Rev. **Usher** of Ireland in 1664 A. D.) **Jones** could not accept the Hindu antiquity beyond that limit. As a solution agreed upon by **Jones** and **Hastings** the identity of Sandrocottus and Chandragupta Mourya was put forth in order to reduce the Indian antiquity by more than 1200 years.

Necessity of Reassessment :

All these attempts go against the date of coronation of Chandragupta Mourya established by the scholars like **Kota Venkatachalam** and others. Moreover, the attempts made by **Jones** and others lack historical proofs favouring their conclusions

¹² **Telang K. T.**, *Bhagavadgita* translated into English Blank Verse, Edition 1875, P. CXIX.

about the date of coronation of Chandragupta Mourya as, for example, **Max Muller** was not able to convince **Troye** with such proofs. As a matter of fact, it was only a personal emphatic assertion by **Max Muller** through which that particular date was somehow accepted from about 1860 until very recent times. And it is strange that the whole of Indian history seems to have been based on that date is being taught from generation to generation. Practically nobody thinks of challenging it. If there are no arguments in favour of the date of the coronation of Chandragupta Mourya, reassessment is necessary and, of course, the different dates of the Bhārata War suggested on the basis of that date should also be reassessed.

Date of Buddha Nirvāṇa :

Some writers have based their date of the Bhārata War on the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa about which scholars have differed considerably¹³. **B. B. Lal** and **Seetanath Pradhan** have taken 487 B. C. as the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa. As the Buddha lived for 80 years, his birth falls in 566 B. C. But **S. B. Roy** has taken 624 B. C. as the year of the birth of the Buddha. Moreover, different dates of Buddha Nirvāṇa are found with regional and religious variations. Reference may be made to **Max Muller** who has recorded 14 such dates or to **D. R. Mankad** who has pointed out more than those alternative dates. As far as Buddhism is concerned in Śrī Lankā we have major religious sects of Buddhists whereas different such sects are found in Nepal, Tibet, China, etc. Now, if one compares the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa approved by the sect of Śrī Lankā and that approved by the sects in Nepal, etc., it is found that there is as much as 600 years' difference regarding the date. Many Western Indologists have followed the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa based on the date of the coronation of Chandragupta Mourya in 320 B. C. Evidently, this date of Buddha Nirvāṇa becomes doubtful when its base, namely, the date of coronation of Chandragupta Mourya is in doubt. It may also be pointed out that the traditional

13. cf. **Muni Sri Nagarajji**, *The Contemporaneity and the Chronology of Mahavira and Buddha*; **Mankad D. R.**, *Puranic Chronology*; **Max Muller**, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*.

record of the Buddha is available which is intimately connected with the record of the Bhārata War. As there are so many dates of Buddha Nirvāṇa, it is not correct to base the date of the Bhārata War on those dates till one date of the Buddha Nirvāṇa is convincingly fixed. The dates of Śankara, Āryabhaṭṭa, Pāṇini and others are also waiting for fairly acceptable decisions by our scholars.

Theory of the Aryan Race :

Similarly, the theory of the Aryan race and its invasion of India have dominated the minds of Indian scholars for the last 100 years. The date of the Bhārata War and the number of other dates are decided in the light of the assumption of this imaginary invasion by the Aryan race. This theory of a so called Aryan invasion was first conceived by Edward **Thomas** and subsequently delivered before the meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society presided over by the Rt. Hon'ble Viscount **Straugford** in London on 9th April, 1866. Therein he traced the progress of successive waves of Aryan immigration from Oxus into the province of Ariyania and Hindukush and also the downward course of that race from its first entry into the Punjab to the settlement on the banks of Sarasvati. With this downward progress he connected the advance of Aryan literature with the simplified but extended alphabet they had constructed in the Arianian provinces out of a very archaic type of Phoenician. **Thomas** further elaborated that the Aryans had never invented an alphabet of their own. Here was the first "outline" of the new history of India based on an imaginary Aryan race, the only source of which was the discovery of the speculators, labelled as "Philologists", who had discovered similarities in some words as pitr (Sanskrit), pitar (Avestan), peter (Greek), father (English), etc.

Influence of Aryan Theory :

In this way, we may describe the beginning of the theory of the Aryan race and it was further developed by other Christian writers whose notions of antiquity could not probably go beyond

4004 B. C. that being the year of creation according to the Christians' belief then. The date of the advent of the Aryans into India was given by **Max Mueller** for the first time as 1500 B. C. This date was vehemently opposed by H. H. **Wilson**, W. D. **Whitney** and others, and **Max Mueller** was required to acknowledge it. But the majority of the scholars in the West have acted on the dogma that **Max Mueller** had proved this date and continued to say that the barbarian hordes of Aryans had destroyed the Indus Civilisation in 1500 B.C. and the compilation of the Vedas took place about 1200 B. C. Not one of them had offered any convincing evidence for this dating. Later on Dr. B. R. **Ambedkar** stoutly refuted this theory of the Aryan race.

The constant propaganda of this imaginary theory centered round the Aryan race seems to have created a deep impression on the minds of even Indian scholars. B. G. **Tilak**, for instance, believed in this Aryan race theory. **Kota Venkatachalam**, a strong antagonist of biased Western Indologists says that instead of thinking that the Aryans came to India from outside it should have been stated that the Aryans moved into outside countries after leaving India. It means that **Kota Venkatachalam** has accepted the theory of the Aryan race but he opposes the direction of the movements of the Aryans as proposed by the Western scholars. This theory created confusion in the minds, not only of the so called philologists but also of the archaeologists who were blindly following the philologists. For, those archaeologists were supporting the corollary of the main theory, namely, that the Aryans had destroyed the so called Dravidian culture, excavated in the Indus Valley. How the misconception centred round the idea of Aryan-Dravidian conflict hampers disciplined archaeological thinking and research may be noticed in articles like (1) "The Citadel of Anuradhapur", (2) "Excavations in Gadige Area", etc., published by the Ceylon Government in the "Ceylon Archaeological Journal" and so on. [The second article says, "It was **Codrington** who first grasped the essential unity between these two complexes (NBP and Pre-NBP Cultures of North, 1930, page 126). His hypothesis was shelved by subsequent workers largely because they were excessively involved in Aryan-Dravidian

question at the expense of the disciplined archaeological thinking (p. 122)].

Like this, from the impression of this Aryan race theory neither the archaeologists nor other critical writers like **Kota Venkatachalam** were left free though they were engaged in fixing the date of the Bhārata War or such other significant date as related to the scriptures of ancient India, for which they used the Purāṇic genealogical lists. This is the reason why not only the archaeologists or philologists but all indologists should have to concentrate their efforts on determining the value of the theory connected with the concept of the Aryan race.

Aryan Theory and Indus Civilization :

The concept of the Aryan race proved to be the base on which it was presumed that there is a fundamental difference between the Aryan civilisation on the one hand, and the civilisation excavated in the Indus Valley on the other. Evidently, therefore, it was concluded that the Indus civilisation flourished before 1500 B. C., the date of the Aryan invasion. Inability on the part of the scholars to decipher the Indus Valley script also, in a way, was a lucky accident which supported the absence of identity between the two civilisations. But recently, Dr. S. R. **Rao**,¹⁴ the excavator of Lothal Shipyard in Gujrat has, after comparing with Sumerian and Assyrian analogies, deciphered the Indus script wherein he has shown that the names are similar to the Vedic language. He says, "The language of Indus seals is not Dravidian and much less Sumerian. It shows close affinity in vocabulary, meaning and etymology to Indo-European, especially, old Indo-Aryan (the language of the Vedas)". He further says, "the theory of the Dravidian authorship of Indus Civilization and its destruction by invading Aryans was advanced by Western scholars who wanted to keep the Indian people divided by driving a wedge between the 'southerners' and the 'northerners'." (He, however, calls the Harappan culture as pre-Vedic, as he believes the Vedic culture to be of 1200 B. C., though the internal astronomical evidence carries the Vedas to beyond 4000 B. C.).

14. S. R. **Rao**, "Indus Script Deciphered", Bhavan's Journal Vol. 27 : No. 16 : March 16-31, 1981.

Views of the Archaeologists :

There are some writers who want to secure such proofs which, in their view, are concrete. Yet, at the same time, they do not think that the traditional and literary proofs are concrete. These writers are especially from the field of archaeology. They think that the date of the Bhārata War in which iron weapons were used is later than that which is fixed according to the traditional and literary sources. For, according to the archaeologists, the date of actual use of iron is not as old as is traditionally believed. Formerly, archaeologists believed that iron was not used in India prior to 1200 B. C. and hence the date of the Bhārata War was not placed before that. But later on from the iron finds in Ahar, Eran and Atranjikhhera there remained no doubt about the fact that, not only does the beginning of Iron Age in India go back to the 19th century B. C. but also the use of iron was an indigenous development, and the practice of using iron weapons was not brought into India from outside. J. P. **Joshi** has recently excavated at Bhagvanpura in District Kurukshetra of Haryana. There, the painted grayware culture which, according to the archaeologist B. B. **Lal**, is associated with early Aryans and the Mahābhārata period, has been found inter-locked with the late phase of Harappan culture. Hence, these excavations have now rendered the chronology of different archaeological cultures excavated in India and so far accepted by the archaeologists and historians, liable to reassessment.

Relative Value of Methods :

As a matter of fact, later excavations often change the results of the previous excavations and hence it is impossible to rely only on archaeology for the final decision about the date of any event. Knowing this B. P. **Sinha** and V. C. **Pande**,¹⁵ contend that it is not proper completely to ignore the traditional account as they contain much grain of truth.

Generally speaking, the means employed to determine the date of an event which is not recorded either in a dated inscription contemporaneous with the event or discovered in a properly

15 *Mahabharata—Myth and Reality—Differing Views* : Editors Gupta, S. P. and Ramachandran, K. S., Agam Prakasan, Delhi, 1976.

stratified site coeval with the event, are literary and astronomical. In the case of the Bhārata War no contemporary inscriptions are available and one is forced to rely on those other two means. The literary and astronomical means have, therefore, to be utilised in spite of their short-comings. A little sober thought will eliminate most of the discrepancies in the accounts that have come down to us. These data will also be correlated with such archaeological material as has been revealed by the spade of the archaeologists.

Literary Proof :

When no dated inscription belonging to the Mahābhārata period is available, scholars will have to study deeply the ancient literature of that age. Of course, riding on the shoulders of Western translators will not suffice. Reference may be made to V. G. Iyer who has written *The Chronology of Ancient India* in 1901, wherein he has quoted a number of scholars who, with the exception of Rangachari, are all Westerners. It is T. S. Narayanasastri who, after having studied the literature in original, has criticised Iyer effectively point by point. It may be added that if it is agreed that the ancient literature is the only clue in this regard, many of us shall have to study that literature thoroughly with an unbiased attitude and conscientiously to arrive at a unanimous date of the Bhārata War.

Extent of Literary Proofs :

Ancient literature in this context need not mean only that which is written in Sanskrit and Prakrita languages. Of course, perfect knowledge of that literature is the first requirement and a must, but that is not enough. It is to be noted that there were also other ancient civilisations which were not far away from India. These, namely, Chinese, Assyrian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek Civilisations possessed ancient literature which is likely to be useful. Those stocks of literature have a significant bearing on ancient Indian history. And those stocks should be studied in the original by Indian scholars who are well versed in Sanskrit and other ancient Indian languages and who are in a position to examine the historical data available in that foreign literature critically and in the light of the facts referred to in the ancient Indian tradition.

Astrological Study :

In the absence of any dated inscriptional evidence, astronomical data, apart from the ancient literature, is the available material to decide the date of the Bhārata War. The anniversary dates called Kṛṣṇa-āṣṭamī, Gītā Jayantī and Bhīma-āṣṭamī are related to the historical persons connected with the events of the Bhārath War and those dates are being recorded in the Hindu almanacs since a very long time. And this continuous practice makes one feel that the events referred to by those dates must be fixed chronologically. Reference may be made to the description in the *Mahābhārata* (Śalya Parvan) that Balarām went on pilgrimage under Puṣya constellation and returned on the 42nd day under Śravaṇa constellation. This exact reference to time creates the impression that the events referred to must have also been definite. Even though the time references in the *Mahābhārata* are thus definite, unfortunately, astronomers are not unanimous regarding the conclusions about the date of the Bhārata War. For instance Dr. P. V. Vartak arrives at the date of the Bhārata War as 5567 B. C., whereas V. G. Iyer thinks it to be 1193 B. C.; the difference between the two being more than 4300 years. And evidently it becomes difficult for the common man to understand the truth. Even persons believing in tradition, as for instance, C. V. Vaidya have rejected the application of astronomical method in the case of the references in the *Mahābhārata* to decide the date of the Bhārata War.

Call for Unanimous Decision :

Now as so many years of independence have passed, it is high time that the mistrust in the minds of our educated people about descriptions in the *Mahābhārata* is removed. Removing the mistrust and suspicion about the astronomical references in the epic with the help of our present scientific knowledge of astronomy is very essential and this responsibility of removing the mistrust should be carried only by the well-versed astronomers of our country. It is also high time that a unanimous decision about the date of the Bhārata War is arrived at. Our glorious past and definite historical account of it will, no doubt, encourage our countrymen to do hard and dedicated work for the

uplift of our nation. Astronomy is the main proof in the present context and it is the bounden duty of our astronomers to come forward and find the way out. It is a good sign that N. **Mahalingam**, the noted industrialist of Tamil Nadu has started an organisation which is doing good work in the field of fixing or re-fixing where necessary, the dates of some of the prominent personages belonging to early Indian history on the basis of astronomical data. It will be a good gain if, through the efforts of that organisation, our astronomers are able to arrive at a unanimous decision about the date of the Bhārata War at the earliest.

Unanimous decision ? Indeed, it is only a single question-mark in writing ; but in the mind of an Indian reader there would arise many question marks and his answer to himself would be nothing but an emphatic 'Impossible'. But will this answer solve the question ? Will it cure the disease ? We will have to cure the disease. We will have to solve the question. In short, we should arrive at a unanimous decision about the date of the Bhārata War. It is very vital and the impact of such a decision will definitely be tremendous. All the doubts created during a century or two will melt away. Our vision will be clearer ; consequently it will be easy to decide the further chronology since the event of the Bhārata War. Undoubtedly, the definiteness in chronology will create confidence in us. With this confidence, our scholars will then peep through the window of the fixed date of the Bhārata War, into the still ancient Vedic period, the existence of which is accepted by all even now. All this will furnish us with an extensive definite knowledge about our ancient history, a thing to be proud of and to inspire us for future dedicated service.

Way to the Goal :

Will this be possible through a conference of the Naimiṣāraṇya type mentioned previously ? Of course, to give a final decision, judges whose integrity, impartiality and ability are accepted by all the participants, should be called to preside over the meetings. On the other hand, the participants also should accept the judgements whole heartedly and without any

reservations. Such a learned gathering only can be successful. We have already an example of the debate which took place between Śāṅkārācārya and Maṇḍanamiśra, with Sarasvatī, Maṇḍanamiśra's wife as judge. Of course, it need not be thought that this is the only process; any other suitable process may be resorted to. Already efforts to arrive at a unanimous decision are afoot. As has been said, N. **Mahalingam** of Tamilnadu is doing a commendable work. The Vidura Sevā Āśrama of Vidurakuti is motivated with a similar urge to fix the date of the Bhārata War. Any process may be tried but it is urgently necessary that a decision about the date of the Bhārata War be arrived at which will be respected by the whole nation.

Guidelines for the Formation of the Sketch :

Let us now have the survey of the different decisions so far arrived at by different scholars. To arrive at their decisions of the date of the Bhārata War the scholars have given many and varied justifications using different data which can be divided into the following three major categories :

- (A) 1. Literature
- 2. Genealogical lists
- (B) Astronomy
- (C) Archaeology

In the present attempt all the justifications are divided under these three major heads. These three major heads are further sub-divided according to the nature of the data used for the justification. For example, the data connected with Aihole inscription has come under the head Archaeology and its sub-division Aihole Inscription. As many as 15 writers have used this data for the justifications. Their justifications are given separately under their names in that sub-division. Data being the same, on reading these justifications together, it would be easy for any one to judge the weight and correctness of each justification. He can form his own opinion about the date of the Bhārata War arrived at by a particular scholar. This type of presentation of the subject, it is felt, will make the reading interesting, the readers will grasp the matter better and may be, some may get interested in studying the subject themselves.

When a writer has given a number of justifications using various data belonging to the three major categories, his particular justification will be found in the sub-division of a head according to the data of a particular category he has utilised. The number preceding the paragraph containing a particular justification indicates the serial number of that justification among the different justifications given by the scholar whose name occurs as a title of that paragraph. The name of the scholar is followed by the mention of the year during which the said justification was provoked as well as the mention of the conclusion drawn about the date of the Bhārata War. For example, in the first paragraph of the justifications, a reader will find the literary justification based on the Vedic evidence which is given by the scholar H. A. **Phadke** during the year 1979, which is one of the supports of his conclusion regarding the year 1000 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata War. Further the number 1 preceding this paragraph indicates that this justification stands at the first number among the different justifications collected from the writings of H. A. **Phadke**. Names of scholars are arranged according to the Roman alphabetical order.

Outline of the Contents of the Classified Presentation

(A) 1. LITERATURE

Sanskrit, Prakrit and modern Indian literature is, indeed, voluminous and belongs to quite an extensive period. And, in the history of the literature, the Vedas are dated evidently before the event of the Bhārata War. So many books often refer to the *Mahābhārata* as well as the names of the heroes connected with the Bhārata War. These books are obviously composed after the date of the Bhārata War. If the date of the Bhārata War, or the date to which a particular character in the *Mahābhārata* belongs, is mentioned in a particular book, it can be said that, that date was publicly approved at least when that particular book was composed. Such literary evidences used by the scholars for their justifications are being recorded in the present chapter. These are further sub-divided according to the representative literary works under the following sub-divisions :

- (a) *The Vedas*
- (b) *Mahābhārata*

- (c) *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Chāṇdogya Upaniṣad*
- (d) Varāhamihira's quotation from Vṛddha Garga
- (e) *Saṅkalpas*
- (f) 1. Later literature
- 2. Miscellaneous

(a) *The Vedas :*

In the two justifications recorded under this sub-division it may be observed that only the date of composition of the *Vedas* is taken as a basis to determine the date of the Bhārata War. However, the date of the composition of the *Vedas* is not free from dispute. B. G. **Tilak** believes in the date of composition of the *Vedas* as 4500 B. C. while H. A. **Phadke** who has quoted A. L. **Basham**, gives 1500 B. C. as the date of their composition. B. G. **Tilak's** date has gained wide acceptance.

(b) *Mahābhārata :*

There are many references in the *Mahābhārata* stating that the Bhārata War took place at the junction of Dwāpar and Kali yugas. Gāndhārī while mourning the death of her sons and others utters as a curse against Shrikṛṣṇa that as she was experiencing the destruction of Kuru clan he would also experience the destruction of his Yādava clan after 36 years. (Strī Parvan XXV, 39-45). This curse together with its effect is referred to in many places in Mousala and Anuprasthānika Parvans. And according to tradition, Kali yuga commenced on the date Kṛṣṇa expired 36 years after the Bhārata War.

यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदाहर्ता

प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगम् इति प्राहुः पुराविदः ॥

(*Bhāgavata* XII, 2, 33 ; also *Vāyu*, *Brahmaṇḍa*, *Matsya* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas*).

(According to those versed in history, Kali yuga commenced exactly on the day on which Kṛṣṇa expired and entered heaven.)

These references are taken as the base in as many as 13 justifications which are collected under the present sub-division. Moreover, it may be observed here that under this sub-division

it is only Janakinath **Sharma** who has used the measure of Sri Kṛṣṇa era. And regarding the conclusions drawn under this sub-division it is to be noted that with the exception of P. V. **Vartak** other scholars are unanimous about c. 3102 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata War.

(c) *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* :

The *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* were composed after the *Saṁhitās*. This is the most ancient literary collection wherein the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* are mentioned for the first time. Out of the 11 scholars whose justifications are recorded under this sub-division, 9 have referred to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and two to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. However, all except two have arrived at the date c. 3102 B. C.

(d) *Varāhamihira's quotation of Vṛddha Garga* :

Under this sub-division it may be noted that scholars have differed mainly on the meaning of Śakakāla. Nine out of 11 scholars referred to, have arrived at the date c. 3102 B. C.

(e) *Sankalpas* :

The approximate date arrived at by the two scholars whose justifications are based on the evidence from the Sankalpas comes to c. 3102 B. C.

(f) 1. *Later literature* :

Out of the 40 justifications recorded under this sub-division, 36 show c. 3102 B. C. as the date of Bhārata War.

2. *Miscellaneous* :

Six justifications in total are collected under this sub-division. Conclusions drawn may be divided into three groups of two each as (1) 3102 B. C. (2) c. 1190 B. C. (3) 800 B. C.

(A) 2. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

In olden days, in all the countries throughout the world, it was a common practice to maintain the genealogical lists of kings, teachers, clans, etc.¹⁶ When eras were not in vogue, time

16. Vaidya C. V., *Mahabharataca Upasanhara*.

was measured from the number of generations of kings and from the period of their reigns. Professionals, like bards, maintained these lists from generation to generation through oral or written tradition. Such lists belonging to the past civilizations of Egypt and Babylon were later on put into record by Greek compilers. In the case of India, the *Purāṇas* such as *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brohmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* record the names of the successive kings of each dynasty as well as the period of their reigns.

All the writers mentioned in this division, with a view to determining the date of the Bhārata War, have used the regnal periods given in the Purāṇic lists of kings but they have started counting the number of years depending on different dates which are fixed according to their respective theories. According to their approved basic dates, the following sub-divisions are made.

- (a) Commencement of Kali yuga in 3102 B. C.
- (b) Megasthenes and his writings
- (c) Coronation of Chandragupta Mourya in c. 320 B. C.
- (d) Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha
- (e) Miscellaneous

(a) *Commencement of Kali yuga in 3102 B. C. :*

Kali yuga as a measure of time is often referred to throughout the length and breadth of India since a very long time. The famous astronomer Āryabhaṭṭa is known to have used this measure of time first. In his astronomical book, *Āryabhaṭṭiyam* the tenth stanza of the chapter Kālakriyāpādam makes a reference to this time measure thus :

षष्ठ्यब्दानां षड्भिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयस्च युगपादाः

अधिकं विंशतिरब्दस्तदेव मम जन्मनोऽतीताः ॥

It means that in the 360th (60×6) year, the age of the author was 23 years. Sudhakar Dwivedi of Banaras Hindu University, while bringing out a new edition of *Āryabhaṭṭiyam*, accepted the reading *ṣaṣṭhyabdanāṃ ṣaṣṭhir yadā*, meaning, “on

the 3600th (60×60) year of Kali yuga. T. S. **Narayanasastri**, however, challenged Sudhakar **Dwivedi** to prove the genuineness of the reading *ṣaṣṭhiḥ* instead of *ṣaḍbhiḥ* which is available in all the southern manuscripts.

Whichever reading we may accept it is clear that the use of Kali era is in vogue at least for the last 1500 years. Protagonists of Kali era challenged that the record of the use of Christian era is not even so old. **Kota Venkatachalam** in his Telugu book *Ābhāsa Khraistava* has stated that in the meeting of all Bishops held in 816 A. D. in Chelsea, it was decided that all the Bishops should start using the Christian era but as the record goes it was actually officially used by **Charles III** of Germany in 879 A. D. And thus the record of the use of Christian era is available for the last 1100 years only. This period of 1100 years can be easily compared with the extensive period of the actual use of Kali era namely, 1500 years. Moreover, the more extensive period of Kali era which commenced in 3102 B. C., also can be used as a support ; for, absence of any record is never a proof for non-existence. And it may be noted that the *Purāṇas* give the chronological lists from the Bhārata War which was fought 36 years before the commencement of Kali yuga.

According to all the conclusions drawn under this subdivision the date of the Bhārata War comes to 3138 B. C.

(b) *Megasthenes and his writings :*

Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador, who came to India in the 4th century B. C. wrote the book *Indica* dealing with India of that time. The book was long lost. Fragments of his writings collected by other Greek writers belonging to the Christian era, however, are available. Megasthenes has stated that from Heracles to Sandrocottus there are 138 generations of kings. This information he must have secured from the genealogical lists prevalent then either in the *Purāṇas* or among the bards. According to further description given by Megasthenes, Heracles is Śrīkr̥ṣṇa whereas Sandrocottus is the name of some powerful king in India just after the invasion of Alexander in 325 B. C. About the identification of Heracles with Śrīkr̥ṣṇa all are

unanimous but about Sandrocottus there is difference of opinion. This does not matter much because the date of Alexander's invasion is definite (325 B. C.) according to reliable Greek account and whosoever that Sandrocottus may be his date will be somewhere about 320 B. C. The 138 generations are calculated from Śrīkṛṣṇa to a fixed date, that is, 320 B. C. When one date is fixed the other can be easily calculated.

Out of the 11 justifications, eight have calculated the date of the Bhārata War as 3102 B. C. The dates arrived at by the remaining two scholars fall 2000 years earlier or later than 3102 B. C.

(c) *Coronation of Chandragupta Mourya in c. 320 B. C. :*

The Purāṇic lists of kings refer to those who existed after the event of the Bhārata War the date of which, however, is never recorded anywhere in the Purāṇas. It is traditionally believed that the event of that war took place 36 years before the advent of Kali yuga. The date of the commencement of the Kali yuga, however, is first mentioned by Āryabhaṭṭa. Those who could not believe in the said reference in the *Āryabhaṭṭīyam*, felt the necessity to fix a date of some event in view of a suitable support. And it became handy for such thinkers when Sir William Jones and Max Mueller decided c. 320 B. C. as the date of coronation of Chandragupta Mourya.

The *Purāṇas* have given the extent in time from the King Parīkṣit to King Nanda. Parīkṣit, the grandson of Arjuna became the king when Yudhiṣṭhira retired from the kingship on the death of Kṛṣṇa at the beginning of Kali yuga. Nanda is identical with Mahāpadmananda, the founder of Nanda dynasty. He was crowned a hundred years before Chandragupta Mourya. When the date of Chandragupta Mourya is fixed, the date of Parīkṣit as well as that of the Bhārata War can be calculated.

Now, it may be pointed out that there is a difference in the dates of the Bhārata War arrived at by different scholars who have based their calculations on the different Purāṇic versions. There are 14 writers referred to under this sub-division.

Their dates of war range from 975 B. C. to 1500 B. C. Similarly, the period of Parīkṣit to Nanda according to them varies from 950 to 1115 years. The difference of opinion about the date of the Bhārata War can be represented by 525 years while the difference of extent of period from Parīkṣit to Nanda may be represented by 175 years.

(d) *Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha :*

Justifications from five scholars are recorded under this sub-division and the date of the Bhārata War according to their conclusion varies from 1000 B. C. to 1447 B. C.

(e) *Miscellaneous :*

The justifications of six writers may be found under this sub-division. Out of those, dates concluded by the two justifications fall near 3000 B. C., five fall near 1100 B. C. and one justification falls somewhere in the 8th century B. C.

(B) ASTRONOMY

In the *Mahābhārata* the position of the stars at the time of various events are referred to. Concerning the astronomical data it is to be pointed out that whenever double positions of the stars for one and the same event are given, it is generally believed that they indicate nothing but the puzzles put by Vyāsa. Many times in the *Mahābhārata* one comes across discrepancies in the description of the position of the stars and the counting of days between two events. As a result, a tendency is developed to doubt the value of the astronomical references given. According to some scholars, the data given does not suggest the actual position of the stars at the time of the event but it is an imaginary one based on superstition about the benefic or malefic position of the stars. But it is also found that the poet refers to the positions of the stars though he does not want to suggest their auspiciousness or otherwise regarding any character. In this context it may be stated that the astronomical references, on the part of the Hindus in general, presuppose their knowledge of astronomy.

It is quite obvious that the Westerners were astonished at the perfect astronomical knowledge of the Hindus. As **Kota Venkatachalam**¹⁷ has pointed out, the French astronomer **Bailley** says, "the motions of the stars calculated by the Hindus before some 4500 years vary not even a single minute from the tables of Cassini and Meyer. The Indian tables give the same annual variation of the moon as that discovered by **Tycho Brahe** a variation unknown to the school of Alexandria and also to Arabs who followed the calculations of the school". He further says, "The Hindu systems of astronomy are by far the oldest and that, from them the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and even Jews derive the knowledge."

Whether in any other civilisation there exists a practice of referring to the position of the stars in view of time reference, we do not know. At least, in recent times, nobody seems to be using that method. Indian history of course, has a very ancient past. To remember it properly ancient Hindus have, no doubt, used the science of astronomy. The astronomical data for the events in the *Mahābhārata* is available to us at present. In the absence of any inscriptional evidence for the date of the Bhārata War, we have to depend on the astronomical references and make use of them to the utmost. In that direction efforts which are necessary should be made. The justifications of those who used this data to determine the date of the War are included under this division in seven different sub-divisions as follows :

- (a) *Saptarṣis* in *Maghā*
- (b) Positions of different stars
- (c) Winter solstice
- (d) Eclipses
- (e) Vernal equinox
- (f) Use of lunar and solar systems
- (g) Miscellaneous

(a) *Saptarṣis* in *Maghā* :

The constellation of *Saptarṣis* consisting of *Marīci*, *Vasiṣṭha* accompanied by *Arundhatī*, *Angiras*, *Atri*, *Pulastya*,

17. **Kota Venkatachalam**, *Kalisaka Vijñanamū*, Part II (Telugu), Vijayawada, 1948, P. 30.

Pulaha and Kratu takes a period of 100 years to go over each of the 27 nakṣatras (asterisms) and it goes in a retrograde order. The nakṣatra which is seen situated equally between the front two stars, namely, Pulaha and Kratu in the sky is said to govern all the seven stars. The constellation of *Saptarṣis* is known as conjoined with that nakṣatra for a 100 human years. Out of five justifications in this context, according to three, the date of the Bhārata War arrived at is c. 3137 B. C. and according to others the date falls far earlier or later than 3137 B. C.

(b) *Position of different stars :*

Under this sub-division, justifications of those who have taken the astronomical data as evidence collected from the *Mahābhārata* as well as other ancient Sanskrit works, are recorded. Out of 11 scholars, the conclusions of three fall in the range from 1275 B. C. to 1424 B. C. ; of the other four conclusions fall at c. 3167 B. C. and of one each falls at 2786 B. C., 5567 B. C., 5228 B. C. and 2449 B. C. respectively.

(c) *Winter Solstice :*

According to the story of the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma was wounded on the 10th day of the War and was lying on a bed of arrows. However, it was Dakṣiṇāyana at that time and Bhīṣma wanted to die during Uttarāyaṇa only. With firm resolve he kept himself alive in the agonising condition till Uttarāyaṇa began and left this world only in Uttarāyaṇa. On the basis of the difference between the annual occurrence of winter solstice at the time of the Bhārata War on the one hand and that at present, the date of the Bhārata War is calculated. Unfortunately, however, astronomers are not unanimous about the date of the winter solstice at the time of the Bhārata War ; and consequently different conclusions are drawn. Out of the six scholars referred to under this sub-division, three have arrived at the date c. 3100 B. C. and one each at 1193 B. C., 1500 B. C. and 1963 B. C. respectively.

(d) *Eclipses :*

Immediately preceding the commencement of the Bhārata War, there were two eclipses, a lunar followed by a solar with an
(3)

interval of 13 days. Occurrence of an eclipse is a regular phenomenon and the interval between two eclipses is also fixed. However, here also the conclusions based on this astronomical fact differ from scholar to scholar. Thus, the three scholars referred to have arrived at three different dates, namely, 3102 B. C., 2786 B. C. and 3067 B. C.

(e) *Vernal equinox :*

In its apparent movement from south to north when the sun crosses the equator, the astronomical phenomenon is called vernal equinox. The point of this vernal equinox moves farther and farther back every year. Its average rate of movement is one degree in 72.5 years. The difference in degrees from the point of vernal equinox at the time of the Bhārata War to the point at present would give the number of years from the war till today. Out of the conclusions of three writers two have arrived at c. 3100 B. C. and one at 1963 B. C.

(f) *Use of lunar and solar systems :*

At present Hindus follow the combination of solar and lunar systems. But this practice is not an ancient one. At the time of the Bhārata War either the solar or the lunar system was followed. Two scholars have used the prevalence of such a practice and have arrived at the same date namely 3102 B. C.

(g) *Miscellaneous :*

Out of seven scholars referred to under this sub-division three have arrived at c. 3100 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata War. On the other hand the date arrived at by the other three falls in the range from 1200 B. C. to 1400 B. C. while one scholar has arrived at 2449 B. C.

(C) ARCHAEOLOGY

Stone and copper inscriptions of the sixth and the seventh centuries A. D. are available which clearly state the date of the Bhārata War but the inscriptions older than those are not found

so far. Piyadasi inscriptions of the third century B. C. are available but those do not directly lead us to the date of the Bhārata War.

Excavations have, at times, revealed the correct past history of ancient civilizations. But the excavations done so far at the sites supposed to be connected with the regions of the *Mahābhārata* event, do not give any clue to the date of the Bhārata War. It may be pointed out that the excavated material shows the sameness of cultural strata. Though there is uniqueness as far as the archaeological cultural strata are concerned, it is difficult to connect that strata with the culture revealed in the *Mahābhārata*. One has to leave to further study the precise date of the Bhārata War on archaeological grounds.

The justifications on such archaeological basis given by the scholars are subdivided into the following four sub-divisions.

- (a) Aihole inscription
- (b) Nidhanpur and other inscriptions
- (c) Ashoka's inscriptions
- (d) Excavations

(a) *Aihole inscription :*

The inscription belongs to the early seventh century A. D. Out of fifteen scholars, who have taken this inscription as the basis, fourteen have given 3102 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata War. P. V. **Vartak** however, gives the date as 5567 B C

(b) *Nidhanpur and other inscriptions :*

Nidhanpur inscription belongs to the seventh century A.D., whereas Ivalli belongs to the sixth century A. D. All the four scholars who have based their justifications on these inscriptions have arrived at the date as 3102 B. C.

(d) *Ashoka's inscriptions :*

Under this sub-division, the considerations about the chronological importance of Ashoka's inscriptions are recorded.

These considerations, in the long run, are connected directly or indirectly to the conclusions about the date of the Bhārata War. It may be found, however, that these considerations lead us to the decision about the date of the Bhārata War only negatively.

(d) *Excavations :*

As has been already pointed out, the excavations done so far do not give any information directly about the *Mahābhārata* times. In the absence of any definite proof and with a desire to find out the date of the Bhārata War, some scholars seem to have utilised the insufficient information gathered from the excavations along with some current theory, like the Aryan race and its invasion, which is dominant in their minds and concluded the date. This is the reason why one feels the justifications under this sub-division as very weak. Under this sub-division, the justifications from six scholars are recorded, out of which two have arrived at 3102 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata War and four at the date as 600 B. C., 1000 B. C., 1300 B. C. and 1424 B. C. respectively.

PART II

CLASSIFIED PRESENTATION
OF
JUSTIFICATIONS



(A) 1. LITERATURE

(a) The *Vedas*

Phadke H. A. - 1979

B. W. - 1000 B. C.

(1) Early Vedic literature refers to Śantanu, Dhṛtarāṣṭra etc. On linguistic grounds the composition of Ṛgvedic hymns has been suggested by A. L. **Basham** in his book *Wonder That Was India*, as between 1500 B. C. and 1000 B. C. On this basis the date of Śantanu will be in the eleventh century B. C. and hence the possible date of the Bhārata War is about 1000 B. C.

Tilak B. G. - 1915

B. W. - 1400 B. C.

(1) It is accepted by all that *Ṛgveda* was composed at the beginning, which was followed by *Yajurveda*, *Brahmanas*, *Upaniṣads*, philosophical systems and the classical Sanskrit literature. Bhāgavata cult which was started at the time of Srikrṣṇa belongs to the devotional poetry which is a phase of classical Sanskrit literature. Ten to twelve centuries must have been passed between the composition of *Ṛgveda* and the establishment of Bhāgavata cult. The time of composition of *Ṛgveda*

is 4500 B. C. and of the *Brāhmaṇas* 2500 B. C. *Upaniṣads* belong to 1600 B. C. after which falls the date of Śrīkṛṣṇa and his Bhāgavata cult.

(b) *Mahābhārata*

Abhyankar K. V. - 1944

B. W. - 3000 B. C.

(1) The Bhārata War took place at the beginning of Kali yuga and Yudhiṣṭhira era began since then.

Acharya Gourishanker - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) As for the time of the Bhārata War, in the entire Indian society, according to the prevailing condition it is believed to have taken place at the end of Dvāpara yuga. For this widely prevailing belief and tradition it cannot be said that it is without a real foundation. There is no proof to the contrary that such a tradition is entirely a myth. It can be established on various grounds that the war took place at the end of Dvāpara yuga.

Chaturvedi B. M. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) It is written in *Mahābhārata* (Ādi Parvan II-13) that the War occurred at the junction of Dvāpara and Kali yugas at Kurukṣetra. And according to calculation, the date of that event comes to 3044 B. V. (Before Vikram Era).

Kenge C. T. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) According to *Mahābhārata* the war took place in the transition of Dvāpara and Kali yugas.

Kolhatkar K. K. - 1973

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) According to *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (XII-2-33) Kali yuga started on the day on which Śrīkṛṣṇa expired.

यस्मिन्कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदाहनि
प्रतिपन्नं कलियुग इति प्राहुः पुराविदः ॥

Ramaiah H. - 1979

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(1) In the Ādi Parvan of *Mahābhārata* while narrating this epic to the sages of Naimiṣāranya, sage *Suta* tells them that the great Devāsura war, the Rāma-Rāvaṇa war and the Kaurava-Pāṇḍava war took place at the end of Kṛta yuga, Tretā yuga and Dvāpara yuga respectively. ...The Kali yuga years are regularly counted in the Hindu calendar...H. H. Jagadguru-Shankaracharya **Sri Chandrashekhara Saraswati** (Kanchi Kamakoti Peeth) refers in his book (*Aspects of Religion*-1971 edn.) that the conjunction of Dvāpara and Kali yugas took place some 5000 years ago.

Satavalekar S. D. - 1968

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(1) According to Indian tradition, the Bhārata War took place at the junction of Dvāpara and Kali yugas.

Sarma Janakinath - 1979

B. W. - 3265 B. C.

(1) Hundred and twenty five years of the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa concluded at the advent of Kali yuga. At present we are in the 5202nd year of Śrīkṛṣṇa era. The event of the Bhārata War took place 40 years before the passing away of Śrīkṛṣṇa. All this is given in the *Mahābhārata* through some astronomical details. Reference may be made to the chapter on Jyotisha in *Indian Wisdom* by **Monier Williams**.

Shastri Udaya Vir - 1979

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(1) On the basis of the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* the War should have taken place at the end of Dvāpara yuga.

Swami Bon Maharaj - 1979

B. W. - 3136 B. C.

(1) Lord Kṛṣṇa left this world and from that day the Kali yuga started. This has been said by those who are in the know of the past. According to Mausala Parvan, the Bhārata War was fought 36 years before the passing away of Śrīkṛṣṇa. Āryabhaṭṭa asserted that Kali yuga started 3179 years before the Śaka era i. e., in 3101 B. C. Hence the date of the Bhārata War comes in 3136 B. C.

Swami Omananda Saraswati - 1979**B. W. - 3139 B. C.**

(1) It is said that the Bhārata War took place at the junction of Dvāpara and Kali yugas, 37 years before the beginning of Kali yuga. At present 5079 years of Kali yuga are over and hence the Bhārata War must have taken place 5116 (5097+37) years before.

Vaidya C. V. - 1905**B. W. - 3102 B. C.**

(1) The time as to when the Bhārata War took place is given in the text of the *Mahābhārata* itself.

(A) In Śalya Parvan it is mentioned that Bhīma kicked up Duryodhana after the duel fight. Commenting on that improper action of Bhīma, Kṛṣṇa says, "Know now that Kali-yuga has started" (Prāptam Kaliyugam Viddhi).

(B) In Vana Parvan, Māruti says to Bhīma, "Kali yuga indeed, is approaching shortly."

(एतत्कलियुगं नाम अचिराद्यत्प्रवर्तते)

(C) In the beginning part of Ādi Parvan (I-2-3), the time when the War took place is stated to be as "The War took place between Kali and Dvāpara yugas.

अन्तरे च व संप्राप्ते कलिद्वापरयोरभूत् ।

स्यमन्तर्गच्छके युद्धं कुरुपाण्डव सेनयोः ।

At present it is accepted by all that the *Mahābhārata* was composed by Souti in c. 300 B. C. Hence it can be said that this belief about the date of the Bhārata War was deep rooted in the public mind at that time.

Vartak P. V. - 1979**B. W. - 5567 B. C.**

(1) The Bhārata War took place in the evening of Dvāpara yuga. Dvāpara yuga consists of 846000 years. The evening of that must be of 5000 years. Kali yuga began in 3101 B. C. We take that in the middle of these 5000 years of evening, the War took place. So its date comes as c. 5601 B. C.

(c) *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Chāndogya Upaniṣad***Babu Brindavanades** - 1979

B. W. - 3101 B. C.

(1) The account of some of the *Mahābhārata* characters is available in a Vedic text that is *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the time of which is fixed at about 3000 B. C. There is a mention of Parīkṣit and Janamejaya in it. Hence the time of the Bhārata War is around 3100 B. C.

Chaturvedi B. M. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(2) In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (I-9-3, I-12-13, III-17-6) reference is made to the fact that Śrīkṛṣṇa learnt *Brahma-Vidyā* from Angirasa. Similarly, mention is made of Śounaka, Maitreya, Śāṇḍilya, etc

Kengo C. T. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(2) In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, there is a mention of Janamejaya and his three brothers. There is a *Sūkta* in *R̥gveda* referring to Devāpi, uncle of Bhīma. In another *Sūkta* there is a mention of Kumār Somaka, son of Sahadeva. In *Kuntap Sūkta* of *Atharvaveda* there are felicitations for Janamejaya.

Kolhatkar K. K. - 1973

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(2) In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* astronomical observation of that time is given as—"Krittikā Nakṣatra rises straight in the east." On this basis, the famous astrologer S. B. Dixit has calculated the date of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, as about 3000 B.C. In this *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Janamejaya, the grandson of the Pāṇḍavas is mentioned. Hence it can be said that the War was fought prior to the composition of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

(3) Prior to the Bhārata War Jarāsandha was arranging the *Puruṣamedha*, a sacrifice in which a number of kings were going to be offered. It seems that the practice of *Puruṣamedha* was well followed at that time and hence the details of the procedure of that sacrifice are given in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the date of which is calculated to be about 3000 B. C. by S. B. Dixit.

Phadke H. A. - 1979

B. W. - 1000 B. C.

(2) A Vaṃśa list of teachers given at the end of Kauṣītaki or Sāṅkhyāyana-Āraṇyaka shows that Guṇākhyā Sāṅkhyāyana was separated by two generations from Uddālaka. From Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad it is learnt that Uddālaka was separated by five or six generations from Janamejaya. Guṇākhyā, therefore, belonged to seventh or eighth generation from Parīkṣit. Guṇākhyā could not have flourished later than Āśvalāyana because the latter honours former's guru Kahola. H. C. **Roychoudhari** has fixed the date of Āśvalāyana as sixth century B. C. From this date counting backwards eight or nine generations and taking an average of thirty years per teacher the accession of Parīkṣit and the Bhārata War may be placed in the 9th century B. C.

Roychoudhari H. C. - 1923

B. W. - 9th Century B. C.

(1) In the list of teachers given at the end of the tenth book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the sixth chapter of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Turā Kāvaśeya, the priest of Janamejaya appears as a very ancient sage. Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka Āruṇi, the contemporaries of Janaka are only sixth and fifth from Turā Kāvaśeya. Hence it is clear that Janaka was separated by five or six generations from Janamejaya's time. ...At the end of *Kauṣītaki* or *Sāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka* we find a Vaṃśa list of teachers. According to that Guṇākhyā Sāṅkhyāyana was separated by two generations from the time of Uddālaka who was separated by five or six generations from the time of Janamejaya. Guṇākhyā, therefore, lived seven or eight generations from Parīkṣit. Guṇākhyā could not have flourished much later than Āśvalāyana, because, the latter or preferably his pupil, honours Guṇākhyā's guru Kahola. We have no personal name prefixed to Āśvalāyana. This probably suggests that the Vedic tradition knew only of one great teacher named Āśvalāyana. *Praśna Upaniṣad* tells us that he was an inhabitant of Koshala and a contemporary of Kabandhini Kātyāyana. These facts enable us to identify him with Āśvalāyana of Sāvithi (a city in Koshala) mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikaya*, as a famous Vedic scholar and a contemporary of Goutama

Buddha. Hence Guṇākhyā and Āśvalāyana should have lived in the sixth century B. C. We may assign 240 to 270 years time to the eight or nine generations from Parīkṣit to Guṇākhyā Sāṁkhyāyana and place the former in the 9th century B. C. Parīkṣit was born just after the Bhārata War and hence the date of the Bhārata War can be placed in the 9th century B. C.

Vaidya C. V. - 1905

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(2) In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, an astronomical observation of that time is given as—“Krittikā Nakṣatra rises straight in the east.” On this basis the famous astrologer S. B. Dixit has calculated the date of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as about 3000 B. C. In this *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Janamejaya the grandson of Pāṇḍavas is mentioned. Hence, it can be said that the Bhārata War was fought prior to the composition of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

(3) Prior to the Bhārata War Jarāsandha was arranging the Puruṣamedha, a sacrifice in which a number of kings were going to be offered. It seems that the practice of Puruṣamedha was well followed at that time and hence the details of the procedure of that sacrifice are given in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

(4) In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* Kṛṣṇa is mentioned under the name Devakiputra. The time of *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* is much before 1410 B. C. which is the time of *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*.

Yudhishtira Mimamsaka - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) The *Mahābhārata* heroes are mentioned in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* whose time is calculated as 2925 years before Vikrama era. Hence the date 3044 B. V. is the correct date of the Bhārata War.

(d) *Varāhamihira's Quotation from Vṛddha Garga*

Acharya Dharamdev - 1979

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(1) The verse of Vṛddha Garga is quoted by Varāhamihira as—

आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासन्ति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपती ।

षड् द्विक पञ्चद्वियुतः शक्यकालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥

Many scholars hold that the word *śaka* mentioned in this verse, refers to Goutama Buddha, the commencement of whose Samvat is in the 50th year of his life i. e., in 574 B. C. Hence according to the verse the date of the War comes in 3100 (2526+574) B. C.

Aiyer V. Gopal - 1901

B. W. - 1193 B. C.

(1) From the verse of Garga quoted by Varāhamihira in his *Brhat Samhitā*, “*āsan maghāsu...etc.*” we infer that the War occurred in 1194 B. C. or 1193 B. C.

Chatterjee Ashokakumar - 1979

B. W. - 3101 B. C.

(1) Kalhaṇa accepts the beginning as Kali yuga as 3101 B. C. and admits that in his days also the tradition accepted the same time for the Bhārata War.

Chaturvedi B. M. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(3) Varāhamihira in his *Brhatsamhitā* writes that Yudhiṣṭhira era began 2526 years before the śaka era. This śaka era is the Gardabhil of 534 B. V. So the commencement of Yudhiṣṭhira era comes to 3060 B. V.

Devkarni Virajananda - 1979

B. W. - 3138 B. C.

(1) Varāhamihira has mentioned that there was a gap of 2526 years between Yudhiṣṭhira and the śaka, thereby referring the latter term to Emperor Cyrus of Iran, who had set up a big empire 554 years before Vikrama with the help of Indian kings. Varāhamihira, Kālidās, Bhāskarācārya and others have referred to this śaka in their works. According to this, Yudhiṣṭhira ascended the throne in the year 3180 (2526+554) B. V.

Jagannatharao N. - 1931

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(1) The śakakāla mentioned by Varāhamihira in the stanza beginning with *āsan maghāsu*, is the *śakendra kāla* of the Persian Emperor Cyrus the Great, which began in 550 B. C. Because of our close contact with Persia this era was used by many in India at that time. According to this, Yudhiṣṭhira must have

expired in 3077 (2526+550) B. C. All the *Purāṇas* say that Yudhiṣṭhira lived for 25 years after the commencement of Kali-yuga and the Bhārata War took place 37 years before the commencement of Kali yuga. Hence the date of the Bhārata War comes to 3139 (3077+25+37) B. C.

Khedwal D. N. - 1968

B. W. - 1963 B. C.

(1) Varāhamihira in his *Brhatsamhita* belonging to Śālivāhana Śaka 486, quoted Vṛddha Garga giving Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka 2526 as current at that time. Hence 2041 (2526-486) before Śālivāhana Śaka is the year of the Bhārata War.

Kota Venkatachalam - 1957

B. W. - 3138 B. C.

(1) Kalhaṇa has mentioned the verse beginning with *āsan maghāsu* quoted by Varāhamihira. Kalhaṇa was believing firmly the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*. The Śakakāla mentioned in the verse is the era of Cyrus the Great, of Persia commencing in 550 B. C. ...The verses 49, 50, 51 and 54 of the first *taranga* of his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* run counter to all *Purāṇas* and those cannot be the verses of Kalhaṇa. Out of the four verses the 51st verse runs as :

शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले

कलेर्गतेषु वर्षानामभवन् कुरुपाण्डवाः ॥

Purohit R. C. - 1979

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(1) In Sanskrit literature three Gargas are famous. But all of them existed before the commencement of Śālivāhana era. Hence the śaka mentioned in Varāhamihira's quotation from Garga must be different from Śaka era. C. V. **Vaidya** and V. G. **Aiyer** take this śaka as referring to Buddha Nirvāṇa in 543 B. C. If 543 are added to 2526 it comes to 3109 B. C., which is very close to the assumed commencement of Kali yuga in 3102 B. C.

Rajwade V. K. - 1913

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) In the verse of *Brhatsamhita* beginning with *āsan maghāsu*, many take Yudhiṣṭhira as the son of Pāṇdu but actually it means the dynasty to which Yudhiṣṭhira belonged and that

dynasty ended 2526 years before Śālivāhana Śaka. The beginning of Kali yuga or the date of the Bhārata War is in 3179 years before Śaka and 653 (3179-2526) years after this, Yudhiṣṭhira dynasty actually ended. According to Varāhamihira the beginning of Kali era falls 3179 years before Śaka.

Trivedi D. S. - 1979

B. W. - 3137 B. C.

(1) Kalhaṇa did not correctly interpret Varāhamihira's verse which itself was based on Vṛddha Garga's observations. Kalhaṇa understood Śaka kāla as referring to Śālivāhana Śaka, which was prevalent in his time, while it could not be even imagined to have been prevalent in the days of Vṛddha Garga and Varāhamihira. Thus, according to Indian tradition it is established that the Bhārata War took place before 5000 years and at the end of Dvāpara yuga.

(e) *Sankalpas*

Gurudatta - 1970

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) According to Sankalpas recited at the time of Pitṛtarpaṇa rite and other such occasions the Kali yuga began in 3179 before Śālivāhana Śaka.

Jagannatharao N. - 1931

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(2) While performing the daily or occasional ceremonies, Hindus mention in their Saṅkalpas the exact *muhūrta*, *nakṣatra*, *vāra*, *tithi*, *pakṣa*, *māsa*, *śakābda*, *kali year*, etc. According to the practice Kali yuga commenced in 3102 B. C. This is often given in current Hindu Pañcāngas (almanacs) also.

(f) 1. *Later Literature*

Acharya Dharam Dev - 1979

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(2) It is clear from *Ain-e-Akbari* that the first king when Kali yuga commenced was Yudhiṣṭhira, 3044 years before the beginning of Vikrama samvat.

Aiyer V. Gopal - 1901

B. W. - 1193 B. C.

(2) In Malabar, they use their own era called *Kollam Andu* or *Kallam* era beginning in 1176 B.C. and they believe in cycles of 1000 years. This is nothing else but the beginning of Kali yuga.

Bhagawat W. V. - 1946

B. W. - 3136 B. C.

(1) Reference is made to the *Mahabharata* in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyai*. Pāṇini lived near about 500 B.C. So the *Mahabharata* should be dated as before 500 B.C.

Chaturvedi B. M. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(4) In the Tantra literature, time is reckoned by days-Aharaganas. According to that method from the beginning of Kali yuga upto Saturday, Bhādrapada Kṛṣṇā 8 of 2028 Vikrama, the number of Aharaganas is 18,52,706. From this, the beginning of Kali yuga comes to 3044 years B.V.

(5) In the birth recitation of Ādi Śankarācārya it is mentioned that from Yudhiṣṭhira upto the said birth in 429 B.C., 2631 years had passed.

(6) Alberuni (1086 Vikrama) has written that 4000 years have elapsed since the Bhārata War.

(7) Nilakantha **Dixit** has given in his book *Nilakantha Campu* that Kali era was 4738 in 1694 Vikrama samvat. This sets the time of Kali yuga or the Bhārata War as 3044 (4738-1694) B. V.

(8) King Sudhanva's gift deed refers to 3694th year of Kali era which is identical with 365th year B.V.

(9) Abul Fazal's *Ain-e-Akbari* states that the 40th year of *Din-e-Ilahi* corresponds to the 4696th year of Yudhiṣṭhira era and there is an interval of 3044 years between Yudhiṣṭhira and Vikrama eras.

Duff C. Mabel - 1899.

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) Friday 18-2-3102 B.C. is the beginning of Kali yuga or the Hindu astronomical era on the 588,466th day of the Julian period. It is often used in the dates and precedes the Vikrama samvat by 3044 years and the Śaka era by 3179 years.

Jagannatharao N. - 1931

B. W. - 3139 B.C.

(3) Alberuni, the Mahommedan historian, says that the 400th year of Yadhagird, the guage system, corresponds to 953rd

(4)

year of Śālivāhana era, 1088th year of Vikrama era and 4132nd year of Kali era. Hence, according to Alberuni, the beginning of Kali yuga is in 3102 B. C. And if the Bhārata War is 37 years prior to Kali yuga its date falls in 3139 B. C.

Jha Damodar - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) Āryabhaṭṭa wrote in his *Āryabhaṭṭiyam* that the Bhārata War took place in the beginning of Kali yuga and he also added that he would be 23 years old when 3600 years after Kali yuga would have passed. He was born in 393 Śaka. From this, we may infer that the Bhārata War was fought 3179 years before Śaka.

Kolhatkar K. K. - 1973

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(4) Ādya Śaṅkarācārya and his guru Govindapādācārya belong to the Brahmo-Vidyā cult of Vasiṣṭha, Śakti, Parāśara, Vyāsa and Śuka. Śaṅkarācārya has said that according to the tradition of his cult Dvaipāyana Vyāsa was born at the time of the junction of Dvāpara and Kali yugas.

(5) Sri S. B. **Dixit** in his book *Bhāratiya Jyotiṣa Śāstrācā Itihāsa* (page 212) says that Kalidas while dating his work *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* gives the figure as 3068 Kali which is equal to 24 Vikrama.

(6) According to its author Nilakantha **Dikshit** the book *Nilakantha Vijaya Campu* was written in 4738 Kali which is equal to 1694 Vikrama. On calculation, the date of the beginning of Kali yuga or of the Bhārata War comes to 3102 B. C.

(7) Samarthā **Rāmadās** ascribes 4760 Kali year to the composition of the 4th Samāsa of his Dāsabodha.

चारी सहस्र सातणे साठी । इतुकी कलियुगाची रहाटी ॥

Kota Venkatachalam - 1957

B. W. - 3138 B. C.

(2) An inscription plate of a gift deed of Emperor Janamejaya is given in Indian Antiquary page 333-334. It refers to a gift of land for the worship of Sītā and Rāma on the bank of the river Tungabhadra in the 89th year of Jayābhyudaya Śaka

which is another name for Kali era. The counting of Kali era is done by cycles of sixty years each called *Samvatsara Cakra*. The serial order of the names of each of these sixty years is fixed, beginning with the name of the first year as *Pramāthi*. The name of the year *Plavanga* mentioned in this inscription is exactly the 29th name in the second cycle of sixty years. This completely tallies according to the calculation of Kali era, the first year of the Kali era corresponding with 3101st year of B. C. A similar gift deed by the same emperor *Janamejaya* was made on the same day to *Goswami Anandalinga Jangam* of *Ushamatha* for the worship of God *Kedarnath* in *Kedarakshetra* situated in north Himalayas.

(3) Grants in the Gupta era reckon the time from the *Bhārata War* (Vide *Fleet* CII Nos. 120, 124, 129, 134, 139).

(4) In the lists of the kings of the royal dynasties of Nepal, the references to some of the prominent events are made in terms of Kali era reckoned on the assumption of equivalence of Kali 1 to B. C. 3101. On this assumption only, Dr. **Buhler** has converted those Kali years into the corresponding years of Christian era.

(5) **Buchanan** mentions of an inscription in the temple of *Madhukēśvara* at *Vanavāsi*, North Canara, which is dated as 168th year of *Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka*. The commencement of *Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka* is in the year of the *Bhārata War*.

(6) Inscriptions at *Belgaum* in *Mysore State* are dated in the reign of *Yudhiṣṭhira* (Vide *Journey Through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* by Dr. **Fleet** Vol. III. p. 231, 411).

Mankad D. R. - 1951

B. W. - 3201 B. C.

(1) *Alberuni* says, "The epoch of *Guptas* falls 241 years later than *Śakakāla* (552 B.C.). Hence 311 (552-241) B. C. is the year when *Chandragupta I* of *Gupta* dynasty was reinstated. For the first time *Chandragupta I* ruled from 328 B.C. to 321 B.C. In 321 B. C. he was driven away by enemies but his son *Samudragupta* reinstated him in 311 B. C. From this year, on calculating

backwards according to the dynastic lists in the *Purāṇas* we arrive at 3201 B.C. as the date of the Bhārata War.

Narayanasastri T. S. - 1916

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(1) The first starting point taken in all the *Purāṇas* is the date of the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira at Hastinapur at the end of the Bhārata War. This date is fixed at 3139 B. C. according to all Hindu, Buddhist and Jain authorities including *Rājatarāṅgiṇi*.

(2) A verse in the third chapter of the third part of *Kaliyugarājavarṇānta* states that when 25 years of Kali era passed away, Loukika era was started in order to remember Yudhiṣṭhira. This Loukika era or Saptarṣikālā is in vogue in Kashmir even today.

(3) In the tenth verse of *Kālakriyāpādam*, Āryabhaṭṭa says that in the 360th year of Kali era his age was 23.

Purohit R. C. - 1979

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(2) Alberuni, an Arab scholar who visited India in 1031 A. D. has given a list of eras prevalent in India at that time wherein the year 1031 A. D. is made equivalent to 4132 of Kali yuga samvat.

(3) Āryabhaṭṭa, at the age of 23, in Samvat 556 had stated that Kali yuga started 3600 years ago. This gives the beginning of Kali yuga as 3044th (3600-556) year B. V.

(4) In Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, there is a manuscript of *Mahābhārata* with commentary called *Jñāna-Karma-Samuccaya* or *Ānandavardhini*. In the concluding verse of that work, the commentator refers to Kali samvat as 4781. The commentary was written in 1737 Vikrama Samvat. According to it, the beginning of Kali yuga comes in 3044 (4781-1737) B. V.

Rapson E. J. - 1962

B. W. - 1000 B. C.

(1) The length of each reign and the total duration of the different dynasties of Magadha are given in some versions of *Purāṇas*. Unfortunately, the state of the text is so corrupt and

the numbers are so discrepant that this evidence is generally of no value. ...We must be content with the general conclusion that the tradition of the *Purāṇas*, according to the dynastic lists of Hastinapura and Magadha, places the Great War early in what is known as the Brāhmaṇa period, say about 1000 B. C.

Sarda Harbilas - 1906

B. W. - 3101 B. C.

(1) **Swami Dayānanda Saraswati** in his *Bhūmika* says that 5007 years have passed (in 1906) since the beginning of Kali era.

(2) The *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, one of the most popular works on astronomy says that Kali yuga era at the time of the establishment of Śālivāhana era, was 3179.

(3) The author of the work *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*; an account of the reign of Vikramaditya, composed in samvat 24 Vikrama, says that, that year corresponds to the year 3068 of Kali yuga era. So the beginning of Kali yuga comes in 3044 (3068-24) B.V.

(4) *Ain-e-Akbari* says that Vikramaditya ascended the throne in 3044th year of the Yudhiṣṭhira era.

Sengupta A. C. - 1947

B. W. - 2449 B. C.

(1) All orthodox Bengali almanacs record that in the Kali age, king Yudhiṣṭhira, Parīkṣit and others totally 120 kings of lunar race ruled for 3695 years, three months and eighteen days till Muslim conquest (of Bengal presumably). The same dynasty which claimed its descent from the lunar race reigned in Bengal upto about 1247 A. D. This gives the date of the Bhārata War as 2449 (3695—1247) B. C. ...Āryabhaṭṭa's fame was very influential and a few dared to contradict him and hence his Kali yuga was taken for Mahābhārata Kali yuga.

Sastri P. Madhavacharya - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) Commencing from the time of the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira, 3045 years had elapsed when Vikrama Samvat was started. Vikrama Samvata lasted for 135 years upto the beginning of Śālivāhana era. At present Śālivāhana samvata is in

vogue of which 1897 years have elapsed upto 1976 A. D. The total period of the three eras accounts for the extent of Kali yuga.

Swami Omananda Saraswati - 1979 B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(2) Kali yuga is mentioned in Panchāngas, Swami **Dayānanda's** *Satyārihaprakāśa* and in *Jyotiṣa Darpaṇa*.

(3) *Ain-e-Akbari* states that from Yudhiṣṭhira to Akbar 4696 years had elapsed and from Yudhiṣṭhira upto the commencement of Vikrama era 3044 years.

(4) It is given in astrological work of Yallārya, the *Jyotiṣa Darpaṇa*, that Vikrama era is arrived at by deducting 3043 years from Kali era. At present we are in the 2033rd year of Vikrama era. Hence 5076 (3043+2033) is the present year of Kali era and the Bhārata War took place 37 years before the Kali era i. e., in 5113 years before.

Trivedi D. S. - 1979

B. W. - 3137 B. C.

(2) Abul Fazal's *Ain-e-Akbari* is an authentic book wherein it is mentioned: 'In the beginning of this yuga, King Yudhiṣṭhira conquered the world and started a samvata during his rule. From that time till to-day, the 40th year of *Din-e-Ilahi*, 4696 years have elapsed'. ...This description also proves the historicity of the Pāṇḍavas and the time of the Bhārata War. Therefore, we conclude that the Bhārata War took place 5111 years before i. e., in 3137 B. C.

Vartak P. V. - 1979

B. W. - 5567 B. C.

(2) *Mahābhārata* has mentioned Dinosaur Nriga (*Anuśāsana A-70*). Dinosaur have been extinct at least from 5000 to 7000 years ago.

(f) 2. *Miscellaneous*

Aiyer V. Gopal - 1901

B. W. - 1193 B. C.

(3) Garga speaks of 'the end of the yuga' at the time of the retirement of the Greeks from Hindusthan in the second century B. C. Accordingly, the yuga (Kali yuga) had ended

sometime before 165 B. C. and hence it must have started a few years before 1165 B. C.

Aurobindo Sri - 1964 (1909)

B. W. - 1190 B. C.
(3000 B. C.)

(1) It is now beyond reasonable doubt that the Bhārata War was fought in or about 1190 B. C.

(This date was accepted by Sri **Aurobindo** at the time of writing this book. But on page 66 of his Bengali *Gitar Bhumika* (written in 1909) he says, "It should be remembered that the War of Kurukṣetra took place 5000 years ago.")

Bhavanilal Bharatiya - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) Sri C. V. **Vaidya**, demolishing the approaches of Western scholars has established the historicity of the Bhārata War, Srikrṣṇa and Pāṇḍavas with proof. He also proved the date of the Bhārata War as 3102 B. C.

Roy Nihararanjan - 1976

B. W. - 800 B. C.

(1) The kingdoms mentioned in *Mahābhārata* and the sixteen mahājanapadas mentioned in early Pali literature belong geographically to the same area. Hence the date of the Bhārata War must be in the near past of Buddha.

(2) *Mahābhārata* gives a list of thirty janapadas involved in the War. It is well known that round about 600 B. C., there were sixteen mahājanapadas in more or less the same geographical area. It is further known that these sixteen mahājanapadas were reduced to four by about 400 B. C. and these four by 324 B. C. were reduced to only one. Here was a political process of formation of larger and larger states. This process had started after the Bhārata War. It might have taken about 200 years for the thirty states to get merged into sixteen and hence the date of the Bhārata War should be somewhere about 800 B. C.

Sharma R. C. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) Almost all astronomers cum astrologers give the time 3000 B.C. for the Bhārata War and the beginning of Kali yuga.

(A) 2. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

(a) *Commencement of Kali yuga in 3102 B. C.***Chaturvedi B. M.** - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(10) On deeper study of Purāṇic genealogical lists from Parikṣit to Vikramaditya and from Jarāsandha to Vikrama, Mourya dynasty comes from 1232 B. V. to 1095 B. V. and hence Chandragupta Mourya is not synchronomous with Alexander. Dating of these two lists is done on the basis of the date of the Bhārata War being taken 36 years before the commencement of Kali yuga in 3102 B. C. It can also be tallied by dating these two lists backwards from the time of Vikrama. Accordingly the date of the Bhārata War comes to 3044 B. V.

Fatehsingh - 1979

B. W. - 3101 B. C.

(1) The greatest difficulty of the modern historians is that by accepting 3101 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata War they are not able to make Chandragupta Mourya and Alexander contemporaries. But the suggestion of **Bhagavaddatta, Krishnamachari, Jagannatharao** and **D. R. Mankad** that Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty was the contemporary of Alexander, should be comfortably accepted. By doing so, many of the difficulties connected with the Greek accounts will be resolved.

Jagannatharao N. - 1931

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(4) Greek classical writers have described the times and lives of the personages of Sandrocottus and Sandrocyptus ruling in Pataliputra in the end of the fourth century B. C. These descriptions do not tally with Chandragupta Mourya, but tally well with the times and lives of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta of Gupta dynasty. These kings of the Gupta dynasty were ruling in the last quarter of the 4th century B. C. This tallies with the accounts of the dynastic lists of *Purāṇas* wherein the interval of time from Parikṣit to Nanda is given as 1500 years, from Nanda to the beginning of Andhras as 800 and Andhras 500 years in round figures. *Purāṇas* give Guptas, also

called Andhra Bhrityas after Andhras. The existence of Guptas in the 4th century B. C. tallies well with the account of the Purāṇic lists which are given from the end of the Bhārata War in 3139 B. C. This Bhārata War took place 37 years before the beginning of Kali yuga in 3102 B. C.

Kota Venkatachalam - 1953

B. W. - 3138 B. C.

(7) All *Purāṇas* begin the genealogical lists of kings of different dynasties from the time of the Bhārata War. It is stated in *Mahābhārata* that the Bhārata War was fought 36 years before the commencement of Kali yuga. Kali yuga commenced on the day of passing away of Lord Kṛṣṇa. On that day seven planets were in conjunction in Meṣa. When modern European astronomers arrived at the accurate time of the beginning of Kali yuga with reference to the Christian era, they expressed their genuine admiration at the knowledge of astronomical science developed in ancient India and the capacity of the ancient Indians for accurate observation and calculation for the inauguration of the Kali era at 2 O'clock 27 minutes and 30 seconds in the day on 20-2-3102 B. C. The time of the Bhārata War is 36 years earlier in 3138 B. C.

Narayanasastry T. S. - 1916

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(4) Kali yuga commenced in 3102 B. C. It is reckoned in cycles of sixty years beginning from the first day of Caitra of the year Pramāthi according to southern astronomers. It has been hitherto accepted by all Indian authorities without a single exception and has been uniformly taken to be the fixed point from which all Vedic, Loukik, historical and astronomical calculations have been made and are still being made. None of the new-fledged theorists have assigned any substantial reason for altering this traditional view. Taking this 3102 B. C. as the commencement of Kali yuga and following the *Purāṇas'* lists of kings, the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira and also the date of the Bhārata War comes in the beginning of the year 3139 B. C. Our Purāṇic chronology is not, after all, so utterly worthless as it is sometimes supposed. The historic value of Purāṇic chronology is in no way inferior to the chronology of any other nation in the world and our ancient sages had absolutely no motives, whatsoever, to antedate the events.

(b) *Megasthenes and His Writings***Acharya Dharam Dev** - 1979

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(3) As referred to by Megasthenes, from Heracles to Sandrocottus 138 generations had elapsed. Taking twenty years per generation as average, the time of Śrīkṛṣṇa falls near the date of the event of the Bhārata War i. e., 3072 ($138 \times 20 = 2760 + 312$ coronation of Chandragupta Mourya = 3072) B. C.

Aiyer V. G. - 1901

B. W. - 1193 B. C.

(4) Saptarṣhi era is quoted in two ways. According to the Vedas it is 1000 years and elsewhere it is said to be of 2700 or 2800 years. When Megasthenes gave 6451 years occupied by 153 kings of India before the invasion of Alexander, he seems to be misunderstanding a yuga of 2800 years for a yuga of 1000 years. Actually the duration was 2851 years in 326 B. C., when Alexander invaded i. e., 1000 years each of Tretā and Dvāpara and 851 years of Kali yuga. Accordingly, Kali yuga must have been started in 1177 ($851 + 326$) B. C.

Babu Brindavandas - 1979

B. W. - 3101 B. C.

(2) According to Megasthenes, from Heracles to Sandrocottus the gap is 138 generations. It is said that Megasthenes was accredited to the court of Sandrocottus in 324 B. C. Taking 20 years as average reign of a king the time of the Bhārata War comes to 3084 ($138 \times 20 + 324$) B. C.

Chaturvedi B. M. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(11) According to the report of Megasthenes (274 B. V.) Sandrocottus belongs to the 138th generation from Heracles. By calculating 20 years per generation, the interval must have been about 2760 or 2770 years. Hence the date of the Bhārata War comes to 3044 ($2770 + 278$) B. V.

Kenge C. T. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(3) According to Megasthenes there are 138 generations from Heracles to Sandrocottus. On an average of 20 years per

king, the total comes to 2760 years. Approximately 330 B. C. is the date ascribed to Sandrocottus and Megasthenes. The total 3090 (2760+330) leads us to the beginning of Kali yuga. Śrikṛṣṇa left this world 36 years after the War. The time of the Bhārata War comes to 3126 (3090+36) B. C. approximately.

Kolhatkar K. K. - 1973

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(8) Megasthenes has given 138 generations from Heracles to Sandrocottus who belongs to the time of the invasion of Alexander (326 B.C.). If we take 20 years as the average reign of a king, Śrikṛṣṇa lived 2760 (20×138) years before Sandrocottus. So the time of Śrikṛṣṇa comes to c. 3086 B. C.

Mankad D. R. - 1951

B. W. - 3201 B. C.

(2) From the fragments of *Indica* of Megasthenes, the Greek writer **Solinus** (1st century A. D.) quotes : "From Bachhus to Alexander the Great, are reckoned (in Indian history) 6,451 years and three months, the calculation being made by counting the kings numbering 153 who reigned in the interval. ... From the same source **Arrian** (2nd century A. D.) quotes, "From the time of Dyonyosos (the Indian king at the time of Bachhus) to Sandrocottus (the Indian king at the time of Alexander), Indians count 153 kings and the period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established...and another of 300 years and another of 120 years..." ...According to Megasthenes, each name of the king was representing a particular number of years independent of his reignal period. After studying the Purāṇic kings' lists I feel that each name was representing 40 years and I have called this 40 years period as Chaturyuga. These Purāṇic lists were computed at the time of Parīkṣit, 72nd king from Dyonyosos (Bachhus) and hence the interval upto 71st king was called first Manvantara. The four yugas Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpar and Kali were taken to have 1000 years each but for adjustment, only Kali yuga was taken to have 1200 years, and it started from the 71st king instead of 76th. This method of computation, I have called Manvantara Chaturyug Method. ...The three kingless or republican periods were as follows : (1) first period of 350 years was after Shishunagas

and before Nanda. (2) second of 300 years was after Mouryas and before Shungas, (3) third one of 120 years was after Shungas and before Kanvas. ...For two reasons, *Purāṇas* give different reignal periods for the same dynasties. One is the omission (*Vāyu*, *Brahmaṇḍa*, etc.) and mention (*Bhaviṣya*) etc., of the three republican or kingless periods. Other is that the two different dates of the Bhārata War are given by Āryabhaṭṭa and Varāhamihira or Kalhaṇa. Due to these two reasons, it is not only about the Bhārata War, but also about the dates of Buddha and Mahavira and many other incidences that different dates are given. We get more than 20 dates of Buddha's death beginning from 2422 B. C. to 260 B. C. I have placed Buddha's death in 2066 and the Bhārata War in 3201 according to Purāṇic lists.

Sharma R. C. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(2) From the historical point of view an important piece of information is supplied by Megasthenes who in the fourth century B. C. was in the court of Chandragupta Mourya (320 B. C.). According to him from Heracles to Sandrocottus 138 generations had passed. So the time of the Bhārata War comes to 3080 ($138 \times 20 + 320$) B. C.

Vaidya C. V. - 1905

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(5) Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador in India in the fourth century B. C., has written about India in his book *Indica*. This book is not available but is quoted by the Greek writers belonging to the beginning of the Christian era. He has stated that there are 138 generations of kings between Srikrṣṇa and Sandrocottus who ruled at the time of the invasion of Alexander (326 B. C.). If we take 20 years as average reign of a king, Srikrṣṇa might have lived in 2760 (20×138) years before Sandrocottus. So the time of Srikrṣṇa comes to c. 3086 B. C.

Vartak P. V. - 1979

B. W. - 5567 B. C.

(3) According to Megasthenes there are 138 kings from Krṣṇa to Chandragupta. Taking the average reign of a king as

35 years, the interval comes to 4830 (138×35) years before Chandragupta who belongs to 327 B. C. Hence the date of the Bhārata War falls in 5147 B. C.

(4) Nine Nandas + 10 Shishunagas + 5 Pradyotas + 22 Magadhas + 28 Kauravas, in all 74 kings ruled for 2871 years before Chandragupta, according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Megasthenes speaks of 138 kings during the same interval. So 64 names of kings are missing and 138 kings would have ruled for 5367 years before Chandragupta. Hence the date of the Bhārata War is 5691 ($5367 + 324$) B. C.

(c) *Coronation of Chandragupta Mourya in c. 320 B. C.*

Chandrakanta Bali - 1979

B. W. - 3148 B. C.

(1) It is known from the *Mahābhārata* itself that in 1000 Saptarshi Samvat (3151 B. C.), Veda Vyāsa had said that next 13 years were full of great trouble. Pāṇḍavas remained in exile from 1000 to 1013 Saptarshi Samvat. After five months of the War Parīkṣit was born in 1015 Saptarshi Samvat ... Pāṇḍavas left for the Himalayas in 1051 and Parīkṣit ruled from 1051 to 1111 Saptarshi Samvat. *Saptarṣhis* were in *Maghā* at the time of Parīkṣit and Nanda. So this period extends for 2700 years. Nanda's coronation is dated in 430 B. C. Hence the War approximately comes to 3130 B. C.

Chatterjee Asim Kumar - 1979

B. W. - 1447 B. C.

(1) *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (II-3-75-20) gives the interval between Parīkṣit and Nanda as 1050 years. Mahāpadma Nanda ruled for 88 years and died in 337 B. C. So the death of Parīkṣit falls in 1387 ($1050 + 337$) B. C. Parīkṣit was an old man of 60 when he was cursed by Śṛṅgin. Hence he must have ruled for 24 years and had ascended the throne 36 years after the War. So the Bhārata War must have taken place in 1447 ($1387 + 60$) B. C.

Jharap K. N. - 1979

B. W. - 3101 B. C.

(1) According to *Matsya* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* from Parīkṣit to Nanda 1050 years are counted. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* further

gives the details from Nanda to Kaikala dynasty upto Yashonandi. According to this, the Yudhiṣṭhira era i. e., Kali yuga commences in 3102 B. C.

Kavishwar G. W. - 1979

B. W. - 1447 B. C.

(1) As stated in *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* the interval between the Bhārata War and Mahāpadmananda amounts to 1050 years. Counting further, 40 more years may be assigned to the clear rule of Nandas as done by *Vāyu Purāṇa* and accepted by R. K. Mukherjee. The last Nanda was overthrown by Chandragupta Mourya, whose accession is placed by historians in about 324 B. C. Going back 1090 years from this we arrive at 1414 B. C. which seems to be the probable year of the Bhārata War. *Saptarṣhis* were in *Maghā* at the time of Parīkṣit and in *Pūrvāṣāḍha* at the time of Nanda, thus indicating ten centuries.

Ketkar S. V. - 1963

B. W. - 1400 B. C. or 1500 B. C.

(1) The astronomical references in the *Mahābhārata* are not reliable and one has to rely on Purāṇic kings' lists to determine the date of the Bhārata War according to which we feel that the War was fought in 1400 B. C. or 1500 B. C.

Ketkar V. B. - 1919

B. W. - 1262 B. C.

(1) *Purāṇas* give 950 years as the interval between Parīkṣit and Nanda. The date of coronation of Chandragupta Mourya is fixed i. e., 312 B. C. Hence the date of Parīkṣit as well as of the Bhārata War comes to 1262 ($950 + 212 + 100$) B. C.

Khedwal D. N. - 1968

B. W. - 1963 B. C.

(2) According to *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the interval between Parīkṣit and Nanda is 1510 years. Adding to this, 100 years of Nanda and 86 years of Yudhiṣṭhira the event of the Bhārata War falls 1646 years prior to Nanda's end. After Nandas came Chandragupta in 316 B. C. Hence the date of the Bhārata War falls in 1962 B. C.

Pande V. C. - 1976

B. W. - 1200 B. C.

(1) *Purāṇas* give 36 generations from Yudhiṣṭhira to Chandragupta Mourya. With an average reign of twenty. Chandragupta will be 720 years from Yudhiṣṭhira. So the date of the Bhārata War falls in 1045 (720+325) B. C.

Pandya A. V. - 1979

B. W. - 1300 B. C.

(1) It is stated that a period of 1115 years had elapsed between the birth of Parikṣit and the end of Nandas, when Chandragupta Mourya, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, acquired the throne in 323 B. C. This shows that the Bhārata War took place in the 15th century B. C.

Pargiter F. E. - 1922

B. W. - 950 B. C.

(1) According to the Greek writers who came along with Alexander's invasion or stayed in India in the 4th or 3rd century B. C., Sandrocottus i.e. Chandragupta Mourya was ruling in Pāṭaliputra. He began his reign in or about 322 B. C. The dynastic list given in the *Purāṇas* state that prior to Chandragupta, nine Nandas ruled for 100 years. 100 years of nine Nandas, we can understand, as the 100 years of the life of Mahāpadmananda, the originator of Nanda dynasty. Mahāpadmananda may be expected to have been coronated at the age of 20 i.e. 402 B.C. He had exterminated all Kshatriyas. According to the *Purāṇas*, until then there reigned contemporaneously for the same length of time 24 Ikṣvākus, 27 Pāncālas, 24 Kāśis, 28 Haihayas, 32 Kalingas, 25 Aśmakas, 36 Kurus, 28 Maithilis, 28 Śūrasenas and 20 Viṭihotras. This information of ten contemporary dynasties enables us to make precedent calculation by means of the average of the ten dynasties. To conquer all the ten kings, Nanda must have taken at least 20 years. So the year of annihilation of all the ten kings is 382 (402-20) B. C. These ten dynasties number-lists start from the Paurava king Adhisīma-kṛṣṇa. Assuming 26 as the average number of kings in a dynasty and 18 years as the average reign of each king, the number of years comes to 468 (18 × 26). Hence Adhisīma-kṛṣṇa comes in the year 850 (468 + 382) B. C. From Adhisīma-kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira there are five generations of kings. Yudhiṣṭhira comes in 950 B. C. which can be taken as the date of the Bhārata War.

Pradhan Sitanath - 1927**B. W. - 1150 B. C.**

(1) *Purāṇas* give 950 years as the interval between Parīkṣit and Nanda. The coronation of Chandragupta Mourya is fixed i. e. 312 B. C. Hence the date of Parīkṣit as well as of the Bhārata War comes to 1262 (950+ 312) B. C.

Smith R. Morton - 1978**B. W. - 975 B. C.**

(1) There is reason, even if weak, for believing the Indian tradition of Purāṇic lists. Weak reason is not no reason and a cogglomeration of weak reasons may add to a probability, just as the sum of the fractions may make unity. We take an average of 20 years a generation. When the boys were married at the age of 16, it is not unreasonable. We must also remember that the average length of life was about 40 years and that the inheritance was by the eldest son. Taking all these assumptions, the Purāṇic lists give us the date of the battle as 975 B. C. (It may be noted that the device of Purāṇic lists was further handled by **Smith**, who followed in this respect, **Pargiter**).

Tilak B. G. - 1915**B. W. - 1400 B. C.**

(2) In *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (XII-2-26) and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV-24-32) the interval from Parīkṣit to Nanda is given as 1115 or 1015 years. A hundred years after the Nanda comes Chandragupta Mourya in 322 B. C. Hence the date of Parīkṣit and of the Bhārata War comes to about 1400 or 1500 B. C.

Varma K. C. - 1979**B. W. - 1420 B. C.**

(1) *Purāṇas* give the interval between the Bhārata War and the coronation of Nanda as 1050 years. Nanda's coronation is in 422 B. C. Hence the date of the Bhārata War comes in c. 1470 B. C.

(d) *Parinirvāṇa of Buddha***Chatterjee Asim Kumar - 1979****B. W. - 1447 B. C.**

(2) The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which is the oldest and most reliable among the *Purāṇas*, states that there were 25 kings

between the Bhārata War and Udayana of Koshambi or Prasenjit who were the contemporaries of Buddha, whose year of death (Parinirvāṇa) is 487 B. C. The *Purāṇas* give an interval of 1050 years from Parikṣit to Nanda. Hence the date of the Bhārata War falls in 15th century B. C.

Lal B. B. - 1976

B. W. - 1000 B. C.

(1) According to Pali literature the synchronism amongst Udayana of Koshambi (30th descendent of Pāṇḍavas), Prasenjit of Kaushala, Bimbisara of Magadha Chanda Pradyota of Avanti on the one hand and the Buddha on the other is established. The date of Buddha Nirvāṇa is 487 B. C. Hence going back 30 generations from 487 B. C. and taking an average 20 years per generation, we come to about 1000 to 1100 B. C. which can be taken as the time of Pāṇḍavas as well as of the Bhārata War.

Pradhan Sitanath - 1927

B. W. - 1150 B. C.

(2) Canton dots (China) and Ceylonese sources give 487 B. C. as the year of Buddha Nirvāṇa. According to *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvamśa*, Bimbisara reigned for full 15 years when Siddhartha (Buddha) paid him his first visit. The accession of Bimbisara comes in 547 B. C. and that of Chanda Pradyota in 513 B. C. They were contemporaries. Before Chanda Pradyota and from the Bhārata War, 22 Barhadratha kings ruled for 638 years and hence the sum total places the Bhārata War in 1151 B. C.

Roy S. B. - 1976

B. W. - 1424 B. C.

(1) **Pargiter** has built a relative chronological table of the kings and dynasties of Kali age systematically. But he did not build up a table of synchronism of the dynasties of Kali age. The *Purāṇas* give a list of about 29 to 39 kings from Parikṣit to Buddha and therefore, it means a maximum possible lag of 1092 years, taking 28 years per king. The Buddha is known to have been born in 624 B. C. and lived for 80 years. So the date of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha comes in 544 B. C. and hence the earliest date of the Bhārata War falls in 1716 B. C.

(5)

Varma K. C. - 1979

B. W. - 1420 B. C.

(2) There is synchronism between Udayana of Koshambi (30th descendent of the Pāṇḍavas), Prasenjit of Koshala, Chanda Pradyota of Avanti and the Buddha. According to the statement of the *Purāṇas* giving an interval of 1050 years between the War and the coronation of Nanda, the date of the Bhārata War falls somewhere between 1450 B. C. - 1400 B. C.

(c) *Miscellaneous*

Aiyer V. G. - 1901

B. W. - 1193 B. C.

(5) According to Hindu custom, Parīkṣit became major at the age of 16 and was crowned king when Pāṇḍavas went to Tīrth Yātrā (Pilgrimage) at the beginning of Kali era. Birth of Parīkṣit and the Bhārata War are coeval and the Bhārata War took place 16 years before the beginning of Kali yuga i. e., in 1193 (1177 + 16) B. C.

(6) The average duration of the reigns of the monarchs of the five foremost powers of our hemisphere serve to assist us in fixing the date of the Bhārata War at about 1193 B. C. according to the *Purāṇas'* lists of kings.

(7) The tradition recorded in *Rājataranginī* enables us to fix the date of the Bhārata War at about 1190 B. C.

Deb Haritkrishna - 1919

B. W. - 8th Century B. C.

(1) In carrying their dynastic accounts, *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇas* assert that the account has been carried upto the 836th year after Mahāpadmananda i. e., after his coronation. According to these *Purāṇas*, the Kali yuga of 1200 years ends that year. The Greeko-Indian synchronisms have established the coronation of Mahāpadmananda in 424 B. C. So the 836th year after 424 B. C. amounts to 412 A. D. which is taken as the last year of Kali yuga. On this basis, the beginning of Kali yuga, which, according to tradition, is the date of the Bhārata War comes in the 8th century B. C.

Kolhatkar K. K. - 1973

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(9) Westerners are not ready to believe that any other civilization was preceding that of Greece. **Menitho** had collected the dynastic lists of Egypt and **Burossus** had collected those of Babylon which were dated back as far as 4000 B. C. Westerners did not believe those lists and called them to be false. But some stone inscriptions found recently in Egypt and brick inscriptions found in Khaldia reveal the date of those civilizations prior to 4000 B. C. Our Purāṇic lists are equally true and lead us to the date of the Bhārata War as 3102 B. C.

Pande V. C. - 1976

B. W. - 1200 B. C.

(2) The 'Great flood' happened to be in about 3000 B. C. the time to which Manu belonged. There happened 95 generations from Manu to the event of the Bhārata War. With an average reign of 20 years, the Bhārata War will be placed in 1200 B. C.

Pradhan Sitanath - 1927

B. W. - 1150 B. C.

(3) Calculating from Koshal, Magadha and Paurava dynastic lists, the dates of the Bhārata War occur as 1149 B. C., 1151 B. C. and 1152 B. C. respectively.

Umarao Bahadur¹⁸ - 1979

B. W. - 3000 B. C.

(1) (In my article "Maharaja Vikramaditya") I have shown that from the Bhārata War when the *Śaptarṣi* constellation completed one round of 2700 years at the end of Andhra dynasty, just then Paramara the progenitor of the dynasty to which Vikramaditya belonged, was born. Three hundred years after this came Vikramaditya and thereafter the Vikrama era was started.

(B) ASTRONOMY

(a) *Śaptarṣis* in *Maghā*

Aiyer V. G. - 1901

B. W. - 1193 B. C.

(8) From the statement made by Āryabhaṭṭa that the *Ṛṣis* were in *Maghā* in the year 1192 B. C. it can be inferred that the Bhārata War might have taken place at about 1193 B. C.

18. *Age of Bharata War*-Edited by G. C. Agarwala, Vidur Kuti, Motilal Banarsi Das, Delhi, 1979 P. 254.

Chaturvedi B. M. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(12) *Saptarṣis* from the time of Yudhiṣṭhira after completing one round, are at present completing the second round through 24 nakṣatras. Hence the Bhārata War took place 5000 years ago.

Deokarni Virajananda - 1979

B. W. - 3138 B. C.

(2) *Saptarṣis* were in *Maghā* during the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira. After completing one circle, from the time of Yudhiṣṭhira, they are completing their second circle through 24 nakṣatras. In the second round they will again enter *Maghā* after about 300 years. Thus, it is established that the Bhārata War took place a little earlier than 5000 years ago.

Trivedi D. S. - 1979

B. W. - 3137 B. C.

(3) It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* that *Saptarṣis* were in *Maghā* at the time of Parīkṣit and in *Pūrvāṣāḍhā* at the time of Nandas. They were traversing a retrograde path and hence *Pūrvāṣāḍhā* stands 16th from *Maghā* and the process must have taken 1600 years time and Nandas come in the 16th century B. C. Hence not Mourya Chandragupta, but Gupta Chandragupta was the contemporary of Alexander. And then according to the Purāṇic lists of kings, the date of the Bhārata War comes as 3137 B. C.

Vartak P. V. - 1979

B. W. - 5567 B. C.

(5) *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (XII-2-27-12) states that *Saptarṣis* were in *Maghā* at the time of Parīkṣit and they will be in *Pūrvāṣāḍhā* at the beginning of Kali yuga. From *Maghā* to *Pūrvāṣāḍhā* there are eleven nakṣatras. So it means that Parīkṣit should have lived 1100 years before the commencement of Kali yuga and hence 4201 (3101+1100) B. C. is the date of the Bhārata War.

(b) *Position of Stars*

Acharya Dharamdev - 1979

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(4) On the basis of the position of the planets coming into one line, Western scholar Kaunt Jonesurt **Jama** gave the

beginning of Kali yuga as 2 O'clock. 27 minutes and 30 seconds on 20-2-3102 B. C.

Ayanger G. S. and

B. W. - 3067 B. C.

Sheshagiri G. S. - 1979

• (1) Tithi, nakṣatra and muhūrta at the time of the birth of Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma and the death of Bhīṣma are given in the *Mahābhārata*. After calculations, the years of those events as well as the date of the Bhārata War can be decided. And the fixed date of the Bhārata War can also be arrived at on the basis of other astronomical references in the *Mahābhārata*.

Daftari K. L. - 1940

B. W. - 1275 B. C.

(1) Stanzas 25, 26 and 31 of the 23rd adhyāya of Viṣṇu Parvan of *Harivaṃśa* state the position of the stars at the time of the killing of Kāṃsa. Astronomical calculations from these statements place the death of Kāṃsa in 1315 B. V. and the Bhārata War took place 40 years later than that i. e., 1275 (1315—40) B. V.

Dwivedi Radheshyam - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) Srikṛṣṇa was born 3263 years before Śaka era in the month of Bhādrapada on the eighth day of the dark fortnight which was a Tuesday and the Rohiṇi nakṣatra at midnight. Prof. **Apte** of Victoria College of Gwalior, on calculations by Ketaki system came to the conclusion that this combination came 3263 years before Śaka era. At the time of the Bhārata War, the age of Srikṛṣṇa was 83 years and hence the War must have taken place 3180 (3263—83) years before Śaka era.

Pendse B. M. - 1976

B. W. - 5228 B. C.

(1) In the Śalya, Gadā and Bhīṣma Parvans of the *Mahābhārata* astronomical references connected with the event of the War are given. According to these references, **V. R. Lole** has calculated on the basis of **Keropant's** book *Graha Sadhanānci Koṣṭake*. According to that, these astronomical positions were possible in 5228 B. C. **Lole** had sent those

calculations to **Keropant**. **Keropant** published his opinion in his *Arunodaya* dated 4-11-1883, that these calculations are correct. This is one of the supports for my conclusion.

Raman B. V. - 1976

B. W. - 3066 B. C.

(1) There are some astronomical observations given in the *Mahābhārata* as follows : (a) At the beginning of Kali yuga all the planets were in mean conjunction. (b) Jupiter and Saturn were near the star Viśākha and Mars. (c) Venus and Mercury were in association. (d) Planetary positions on the 17th day of the War are mentioned. (e) Astronomical details during the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira and during his performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice are also mentioned. All these observations fix the date of the Bhārata War as 3139 B. C.

Roy S. B. - 1976

B. W. - 1424 B. C.

(2) Astronomical references in the Vedas give the following dates after calculations. Nābhānediṣṭha—3070 B. C., second Viśwāmitra—2350 B. C., Vāmadeva—2000 B. C., Vāgāmbhriṇi—1630 B. C. Winter solstice at Āmāvāsyā at Dhaniṣṭha by Lagadha in 1270 B. C. Āśvalāyana observed the Draconic star at the Pole star in 1326 B. C. Similarly, calculating from astronomical statements in the *Mahābhārata*, the date of the Bhārata War comes between 1414 B. C. and 1486 B. C.

Sengupta P. C. - 1947

B. W. - 2449 B. C.

(2) The *Mahābhārata* text supplies some uninterpolated reliable astronomical references for the determination of the date of the Bhārata War. From these references, applying two methods of astronomical calculations, two dates are arrived at as 2432 B. C. and 2450 B. C. We have further to examine if there is any tradition which supports these findings. There are three traditions for the date (1) Āryabhaṭṭa gives 3102 B. C., (b) Varāhamihira's quotation from Vṛddha Garga gives 2449 B. C. and (c) *Purāṇas* kings' lists give 1421 B. C. or 1871 B. C. The closest of the three for our two astronomical observations is the second one and we confirm 2449 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata War.

Vaidya R. V. - 1967

B. W. - 2786 B. C.

(1) On the basis of the astronomical data (**Raman** above) the date of the Bhārata War falls in 2786 B. C.

Varma K. C. - 1979

B. W. - 1420 B. C.

(3) Astronomical statements about (a) the day on which the War started and about (b) the day on which Bhīṣma expired are given in the *Mahābhārata*. The calculations according to these, place the date of the Bhārata War in between 1450 B. C. and 1400 B. C.

Vartak P. V. - 1979

B. W. - 5567 B. C.

(6) Rohiṇī Śakata division by Saturn is described in the *Mahābhārata*. Sri **Modak**, **Dixit** and others have calculated this to occur in 5294 B. C., or a few centuries earlier which helps us to arrive at 5567 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata War.

(7) From the double planetary position given in the *Mahābhārata* V. R. **Lole** has proved that the vernal equinox was on Punarvasu nakṣatra, the date being about 5306 B. C. or a few centuries earlier, which supports the date of the Bhārata War in 5567 B. C.

(c) *Winter Solstice*

Abhyankar K. V. 1944

B. W. - 3000 B. C.

(2) According to the astronomical references in the *Mahābhārata*, at that time, the Winter solstice occurred on Māgha Kṛṣṇa 5, the earliest in the sidereal year. At present (in 1944) it occurs earliest on Mārgaśīrṣa Śukla 10 or 11. The difference is 69 days between the earliest occurrence then and now. For a change of a day in the occurrence of Winter solstice 71·8 years are required. Hence the interval of about 5000 ($69 \times 71\cdot8$) years has passed between the Bhārata War and the present time. Thus, the date of the Bhārata War comes to about 3000 B. C.

Aiyer V. G. - 1901

B. W. - 1193 B. C.

(9) We apply the principles of *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* to a stanza from the *Mahābhārata* which fixes the date of Winter

solstice occurring soon after the War and conclude that the War should have taken place in the latter part of the year 1194 B. C.

Jagannatharao N. - 1931

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(5) During our times, Uttarāyaṇa has occurred when the sun reached 247° and $18'$ in the ecliptic in 1929-'30. At the time of Uttarāyaṇa at Bhīṣma's death the sun was $318^{\circ}-3'-30''$ in the ecliptic. The difference is $70^{\circ}-45'-20''$. This is caused due to the precision of equinoxes, the rate of change of which is $50'-26''$ per year. So the interval between our time and that of Bhīṣma is $\frac{70^{\circ}-45'-20''}{50'-26''} = 5069$ years. Thus, the date of the death of Bhīṣma or the event of the Bhārata War comes to 3139 (5069-1930) B. C.

Khedwal D. N. - 1968

B. W. - 1963 B. C.

(3) According to the *Mahābhārata*, Yudhiṣṭhira saw sun's tendency towards Uttarāyaṇa on Māgha Śukla 2. At present it is on Mārgaśīrṣa Śukla 7. So the difference amounts to 55 days. Uttarāyaṇa recedes by one degree or one day in 71 years and 8 months. So from 1968 backwards for 55 days it must have taken 3926 years. So the date of the Bharata War comes as 1958 (3926-1968) B. C.

Narayanasastry T. S. - 1916

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(5) Uttarāyaṇa after the Bhārata War and before Bhīṣma's death, commenced when the sun was in $318^{\circ}-3'-20''$ or at the middle point of the fourth pada of Sarabhisā. Now in 1917 A. D. it commences in the first part of the third pada of Mūla in $247^{\circ}-28'$. There is a difference of $70^{\circ}-35'-20''$ ($318^{\circ}-3'-20'' - 247^{\circ}-28'$). Since the time of Bhīṣma's death, the Uttarāyaṇa has been thrown back so much. The rate of precision of equinoxes is $50'-26''$ in a year. So Bhīṣma died in 5056 ($\frac{70^{\circ}-35'-20''}{50'-26''}$) (in round figures) before 1917 A. D. or in the year 3139 (5056-1917) B. C.

Poddar R. P. - 1979

B. W. - 1500 B. C.

(1) According to Srikrṣṇa's statement in Udyoga Parvan, the War began on the Āmāvāsyā in Jyēṣṭha (Rohiṇī Aldebaran)

when the sun was in Jyeṣṭha. Bhīṣma died on the Southern Solstice day and this was Māgha Śukla 8 or lunar Māgha and the first day of the solar Māgha. He died 67 days after the commencement of the War. This means the sun was 67 days in journey from Jyeṣṭha i.e., 67 degrees away. T. Bhattacharya in *Journal of Gāgā Nath Jha Research Institute* Vol. VIII, pages 1 to 78, has on the basis of the above data determined the date of the Bharata War as 1432 B. C. or 1431 B. C.

(d) *Eclipses*

Srinivasa Raghavan K. - 1976

B. W. - 3067 B. C.

(1) In the Udyoga Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* it is mentioned that on the Jyeṣṭha day, Jupiter and Saturn were in the constellation of Rohiṇī, while Sun, Moon and Rahu were in Jyeṣṭha causing solar eclipse before the beginning of the Bhārata War. Solar eclipse is also indicated on both the occasions just before the Bhārata War and before the Yādava civil war 35 years after the Bhārata War. It is stated that both the āmāvāsyās came on the 13th day of the fortnight. These conditions are satisfied with the āmāvāsyā on 11-11-3067 B. C. preceding the Bhārata War. Next day 12-11-3067 B. C. is the first Śukla Prathamā of the year beginning with Mārgaśīra month and the first day of Navarātri Pooja (Mārgaśīra was the first month of the year in Kṛṣṇa's time). The tenth day was Vijayādaśami when Duryodhana sent Uluka to Pāṇḍavas asking them to start the War next day. Accordingly, the Bhārata War was started on Friday, Mārgaśīra Śukla 11, Kṛttikā nakṣatra, 22-11-3067 B. C., 601528th Julian day, Ekādaśī ending at 5-60 and Moon at 37-74 or Kṛttikā on Friday morning. This is in complete accord with all other astronomical statements of Sri Veda Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata* and also with the tradition.

Vaidya C. V. - 1905

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(6) Vyāsa has stated that there was a solar eclipse on Kārtika āmāvāsyā day prior to the event of the Bhārata War. At present there are three dates connected by the scholars to the event of the Bhārata War.

- (a) 3101 B. C. is the date accepted by tradition.
- (b) 2526 B. C. is accepted by Varāhamihira as well as Kalhaṇa.
- (c) 13-10-1194 B. C. is accepted by V. Gopal Aiyer.

After calculation, I have found out that the said eclipse took place on the date accepted by tradition.

Vaidya R. V. - 1967

B. W. - 2786 B. C.

(2) There were two eclipses before the Bhārata War with an interval of 13 days. These and the march of planets between Maghā and Śravaṇa are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Calculations based on these astronomical phenomena give the date of the Bhārata War as 2786 B. C.

(e) *Vernal Equinox*

Khedwal D. N. - 1968

B. W. - 1963 B. C.

(4) In the 64th adhyāya of Anuśāsana Parvan in the *Mahābhārata*, the nakṣatras are counted from Kṛttikā. On this basis it is calculated that vernal equinox was taking place at Kṛttikā at the time of the Bhārata War. According to this, the time of the Bhārata War falls in 1963 B. C.

Purohit R. C. - 1979

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(5) While commenting on a sūtra of Pāṇini, Patanjali has referred to Pūrṇimā of Mārgaśīrṣa as *Agrahayinī*. Mārgaśīrṣa was reckoned as the first month of the year. Vernal equinox was also in Mārgaśīrṣa and on calculation this indicates the time of Lord Kṛṣṇa as c. 3000 B. C.

Srinivasa Raghavan K. - 1969

B. W. - 3067 B. C.

(2) During the duration of the Bhārata War, the vernal equinox was at the mid-point of Rohiṇī i. e., 46.5 degrees of the zodiac. Now in 1975 A. D. it is at 23.4 degrees of the zodiac. From the time of the Bhārata War the vernal equinox has moved by 69.9 (46.5+23.4) degrees. Its average rate of

motion is one degree in 72.5 years. Hence the date of the Bhārata War must be 5065 (69.9×72.5) years before 1975 A. D. i. e., 3090 B. C.

(f) *Use of Lunar and Solar Systems*

Agarwal Madalasadevi - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) The controversy between Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas about the completion of the period of exile and Bhīṣma's decision thereof points to the fact that in those days, the calculation of time on the basis of lunar system was also in vogue and this practice must have been very ancient. This points to the inference that the War took place in quite olden times, supporting 3102 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata War arrived at on the basis of other justifications.

Vaidya C. V. - 1905

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(7) After 12 years of vanavāsa (exile) and one year of ajñātavāsa (seclusion), when Pāṇḍavas were detected a question had arisen whether Pāṇḍavas had completed the period of one year of their seclusion. Kauravas were following the solar calendar and Pāṇḍavas the lunar one. Bhīṣma decided on the side of the lunar calendar. The lunar calendar was quite current in India, at the time of *Taitirīya Samhitā* and *Brāhmaṇas*. The lunar year is not mentioned in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, the period of which is fixed by S. B. Dixit in his book *History of Bharatiya Jyotiṣa Śāstra* as 1410 B. C., the Bhārata War is not mentioned in the *R̥gveda* which contains the *sūkta* of Devāpi. Devāpi is the uncle of Bhīṣma. Hence, it can be said that the Bhārata War was fought just after the composition of *Devāpi sūkta* and before the period of *Brāhmaṇas*.

(g) *Miscellaneous*

Acharya Dharamdev - 1979

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(5) In 1899, astrologers of the country had unanimously decided to accept the commencement of Kali yuga and the Bhārata War as before 5000 years. In the *Gadā Parvan*, Kṛṣṇa

has told Balarāma "Know the Kali yuga has come" (*prāptam kali yugam viddhi*).

Aiyer V. G. - 1901

B. W. - 1193 B. C.

(10) The first year of the Bṛhaspati cycle of 60 years actually corresponds to the date of the War given by Garga i. e., 1194-93 B. C.

Bhagawat W. V. - 1973

B. W. - 1400 B. C.

(2) Astronomy flourished in India only after 1400 B. C. There are so many references to the astronomical phenomenon in the *Mahābhārata*. Hence the period of the Bhārata War will be after 1400 B. C.

Sengupta P. C. - 1947

B. W. - 2449 B. C.

(3) The *Mahābhārata* says that the battle was fought at the junction of Dvāpara and Kali ages. But the Mahābhārata Kali yuga is different from the astronomical Kali yuga, the commencement of which is stated by a back calculation based on incorrect astronomical constants by Āryabhaṭṭa I in 499 A. D. It cannot truly point out the time of any historical event prior to that date. The Āryabhaṭṭa tradition is a pure myth. The Mahābhārata Kali yuga began on 14-1-2454 B. C. Even the year of the Bhārata War itself may be the beginning of Kali yuga on 14-4-2449 B. C.

Sharma S. D. - 1979

B. W. - 1200 B. C.

(1) Use of gravitational perturbation theory and spherical astronomy confirm the date of the Bhārata War given by K. L. Daftary as 1200 B. C.

Swami Sakhyananda - 1979

B. W. - 3067 B. C.

(1) Traditional chronological accounts of *Rājataranginī* and of Vedic astronomical calendar say that Sraddhadeva Vaivasvata was crowned as Manu in 8576 B. C. Thence there was a glorious period of 5400 years upto the time of Yudhiṣṭhira. According to the traditional accounts and astronomical data

given in the *Mahābhārata*, the Bhārata War took place in 3067 B. C. From the beginning of Kali yuga (34 years after the Bhārata War) violent earthquakes, tidal waves, sand storms and hot winds caused great (almost total) destruction. Then under the Kuru kings of Koshambi, there was a revival and recultivation, the first project being the rearrangement of the *Vedas* by Vyāsa.

Vaidya C. V. - 1905

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(8) Āryabhaṭṭa followed by Brahmagupta, Varāhamihira and other Indian astronomers are found using Kali era beginning in 3101 B. C. So far no proof is available for the fact that any one prior to Āryabhaṭṭa has used this era. My opinion is that in the ancient days the concept of era was not used anywhere in the world. Only the lists of kings and their reign periods were maintained. I feel that Āryabhaṭṭa had calculated the beginning of the Kali era on the basis of these lists of kings and dynasties given in the *Purāṇas*.

(C) ARCHAEOLOGY

(a) *Aihole Inscription*

There is a stone inscription from a Jain temple at Aihole (Vijapur, Karnataka), written by Ravikīrti for the Chalukya king Satyāshraya Pulakeshi (609—642 A. D.). The relevant portion reads as :

त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाह्वादिः

सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु श(ग)तेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ॥

पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चाशतासु च

समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥

Acharya Dharamdev - 1979

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(6) On the basis of Aihole rock inscription of Pulakeshin II it can be proved that the Bhārata War took place in about 3100 B. C.

Agarwala Madalasadevi - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(2) In the Aihole inscription it has been mentioned that the temple concerned was constructed 3736 years later than the event of the Bhārata War and 556 years after the Shaka kings.

Bhagavaddatta - 1946

B. W. - 3136 B. C.

(1) Aihole inscription belongs to 3637th (30+3000+107+500) year from the event of the Bhārata War or 556th year of Śakakāla. So the Bhārata War must have taken place in 3081 (3637—556) years before Śaka.

Chaturvedi B. M. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(13) In the Aihole inscription of Pulakeshin II, 556th year of Śaka is equated with 3735th year after the event of the Bhārata War. This calculates the time of the Bhārata War as 3044 B. V.

Deokarni Virajananda - 1979

B. W. - 3138 B. C.

(3) Aihole inscription refers to the Śaka kings and to the expiry of 556 years of their rule when 3142 years after the Bhārata War had passed. The term Śaka king refers to the Emperor Cyrus of Iran (Śakastān) who had set up a big empire in 554 B. V. with the help of Indian kings. Cyrus started his own samvata which the Indian kings accepted because of their friendly relations. Iran's ancient records also satisfy this fact.

Gurudatta - 1970

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(2) According to the Aihole inscription, the Bhārata War took place in 3079 or 3179 B. C.

Kota Venkatachalam - 1957

B. W. - 3138 B. C.

(8) Aihole inscription is published in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. V pages 67–71. The same has again been published in No. 34 of the *Kāvya-māla* series as the 16th document. Two alterations have been suggested and incorporated in the translation and in the text as published in *Prācin Lekhamālā*. (1) *Saptabda* is

altered to *Sahābda*. (2) *Śateṣu* is changed to *Gateṣu*. Taking the second alteration *Gateṣu* the meaning is (37 years elapsed) after the Bhārata War (upto the beginning of the Kali first year) and in Kali 3735 ($30 + 3000 + 700 + 5$) and 556 ($50 + 6 + 500$) years after the Śaka kings. So 3772 ($3735 + 37$) years after the War is equal to 556 Śālivāhana śaka which is the same as 634 ($556 + 78$) A. D. Hence the Bhārata War comes in 3138 ($3772 - 634$) B. C.

Narayanasastry T. S. - 1916

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(6) In the *Prācina Lekhamālā* the second line of the above quote verses is given as

सहाब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु.

Prof. **Weber**, R. C. **Dutt** and other authorities read like this only. It means 3135 years and not 3735 years from the Bhārata War and this 3135 years correspond to 556 years of the Śaka king. The era of the the Śaka kings is the era of Cyrus the Great of Persia beginning in 550 B. C.

Purohit R. C. - 1979

B. W. - 3100 B. C.

(6) The Aihole inscription reads that the temple was built 3735 years after the Bhārata War and 556 years after the commencement of Śaka samvat. So the Bhārata War took place 3179 ($3735 - 556$) years before Śaka.

Reu Vishweshwaranath - 1921

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(1) The relevant verses in the Aihole inscription mean that 3735 ($30 + 3000 + 700 + 5$) years from the Bhārata War and 556 ($50 + 6 + 500$) years from Śakakāla have elapsed. Hence the Bhārata War took place 3179 ($3735 - 556$) before Śaka samvat.

Sarda Harbilas - 1906

B. W. - 3101 B. C.

(5) The Aihole inscription reads that the temple concerned was erected 3735 years after the event of the Bhārata War i.e, when 556 years of Śaka era had passed, thus proving that the Bhārata War took place in 3179 before Śālivāhana Śaka.

Sastri Udayavir - 1979

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(2) It is clear from the Aihole inscription that the temple concerned was built after 3755 years of Kali yuga as well as the event of the Bhārata War.

Swami Omananda Saraswati - 1979

B. W. - 3139 B. C.

(5) The Aihole inscription states that after a lapse of 3142 years from the Bhārata War, 556 years of Śaka king had passed. By the term Śaka king is meant the era started by a king of Persia to commemorate the victory of the Indian and Iranian (Persian) forces. It starts in 517 B. V.

Trivedi D. S. - 1979

B. W. - 3137 B. C.

(4) It is clear from the Aihole inscription that it was inscribed in the 3735th year of Kali yuga or 556th year of Śalivahana Śaka i. e., in 634 (556 + 78) A. D. Here we are able to fix the commencement of Kali yuga by deducting 634 from 3735 i. e., in 3101 B. C.

Vartak P. V. - 1979

B. W. - 5567 B. C.

(8) The Aihole inscription reads that 855th year of Kali yuga is concurrent with 3030 years of Yudhiṣṭhira. So Yudhiṣṭhira era started 2175 (3030—855) years before Kali yuga. So the Bharata War comes in 5276 (2175 + 3101) B. C.

(b) *Nidhanpur and Other Inscriptions*

Abhyankar K. V. - 1944

B. W. - 3000 B. C.

(3) The epigraph found at Badami (ancient Vātāpi) mentions its date as Śaka 506 side by side with 3550 of Kali yuga.

Bhagawaddatta - 1946

B. W. - 3136 B. C.

(2) Nidhanpur (India's Eastern border) copper plate inscription (belonging to 590 A. D.) states that "Vajra Datta was the grandson of Narakāsura and that 3000 years after Vajra Datta, Pushyamitra became the king." The Chinese traveller

Huenatsang had met Bhāskara Varmā, the 12th king after Pushyamitra in 630-640 A. D. These twelve added to the two from Vajra Datta to Narakāsura make fourteen generations in all. Taking 25 years as the average reign of a king, we get 350 years for fourteen generations. Hence one can say that in Kamarupa it was believed at that time that the Bhārata War took place prior to 2700 B. C.

Chaturvedi B. M. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(14) The time of an inscription discovered at Ivalli in Dharwar district of Mysore, is mentioned as 506 Śaka and 641 Vikrama. According to this inscription the Bhārata War was fought 4236 years before its writing. This inscription also refers to the śaka era mentioned by Varahamihira as 534 B. V. Hence, on the basis of this inscription the date of the Bhārata War can be established as 3061 [4236—(641 + 534)] B. V.

(15) American archaeologists have obtained the translation of a verse from the *Bhagavadgita* namely, *Vasainsi Jirñani Yathā Vihaya*, engraved on a slab from the excavations at an Egyptian pyramid, the time of which is dated as 3000 B. C. (Nava Bharat Times, Daily, 18-4-1967).

Trivedi D. S. - 1937

B. W - 3137 B. C.

(5) According to the Nidhanpur copper plate inscription Bhāskara Varmā is 12th from Pushya Varmā. Suleman, the Arab traveller says that many kings of India have ruled for 50 years each. Taking this as the average reign, 12 kings might have ruled for 600 years. The said plate was renewed by Bhāskara Varmā in 590 A. D. He was a contemporary of Harsha of Kanoj. Hence Vajra Datta might have flourished in 3010 (3000 + 600—590) B. C. During the life time of his father Bhaga Datta, the Bhārata War took place. This supports the date of the Bhārata War in 3137 B. C.

(6) Kali Samvat is inscribed in six inscriptions of North India and five of the South. These help us for supporting the year 3137 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata War.

(6)

(c) *Ashoka's Inscriptions***Agarwal** Madalasadevi - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(3) In the Piyadasi inscriptions, the five names which are believed to be of Greek kings are not the names of the Greek kings. but they are of Jana-Rajyas of this very country beyond Indus. I. N. **Dwivedi** has tried to establish this. There is no evidence of the time when the inscriptions had been written because there is no mention of year. The only thing inscribed is the number of years after the coronation of the kings who got them inscribed but the coronation year is not given. The titles like *Devanam piya*, *Piyadasi* are mentioned, but not the names of the kings. It is not possible to calculate any date. For quite a long time scholars considered the figure 256 given in the first minor rock edict as referring to the Buddha's Nirvāṇa samvat. But this view is now completely demolished. Except in the first minor rock edict, in no other edict Ashoka's name is found. It is not correct to regard them as Ashokavardhan's religious edicts. For similar with the account given by Huenatsang, in the second, seventh and thirteenth rock edict also we find the information about Harshavardhana. The titles like *Devanam piya* should not be ascribed to Ashoka alone for, those were ascribed generally to the Buddhist kings. The date of the Bhārata War cannot be ascertained on the basis of these rock edicts.

Mankad D. R. - 1951

B. W. - 3201 B. C.

(3) About the Piyadasi inscriptions, even a casual student can see that there are two well-marked out groups of them. One group is the fourteen principal rock edicts, two separate Kalinga edicts, the seven principal pillar inscriptions and the queen's edict. Other group is of minor rock edicts, minor pillar inscriptions and the Barabara cave inscription. My opinion is that the inscriptions of the first group belong to Samudragupta of Gupta dynasty and the second to Ashoka Mourya and I feel that the authorship of Piyadasi inscriptions should not stand in the way of the conclusion that it was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and not Chandragupta Mourya who was the contemporary of Alexander.

Trivedi D. S. - 1931**B. W. - 3137 B. C.**

(7) The present Indian history which is taught in the educational institutions is based on Chandragupta Mourya and Alexander being taken as contemporaries, while this contemporaneity is based on absolutely wrong premises. From Ashoka's inscriptions, there is nothing to indicate that Chandragupta Mourya was a contemporary of Alexander.

(d) *Excavations***Chaturvedi B. M. - 1979****B. W. - 3102 B. C.**

(16) Seals obtained from Mohenjodaro and Harappa show a man standing between two trees. This has been interpreted by V. S. **Agarwala** to be Lord Kṛṣṇa. The accepted time of those seals is 4800 years ago. This supports the antiquity of the Bhārata War.

Dani A. H. - 1976**B. W. - 6th Century B. C.**

(1) Archaeology has produced the material for two waves of invasion of the Painted Grey-ware (PGW) culture. The first is associated with bronze and second with iron. This culture is different from the Indus Valley Civilisation. These invasions have occurred between the end of the Indus Valley Civilisation and the beginning of the historic period in the sixth century B.C. The Bhārata War will be nearer to the 6th Century B. C.

Dutt R. C.

(1) It is certain that the story of the *Mahābhārata* is a myth. The history of the Vedic age is the history of the conquest of Punjab from the aborigines by the invading Aryans during 2000 B. C. to 1400 B. C. The Aryan colonisers moved forward Eastwards and the *Mahābhārata* gives the picture of the Aryans when they settled on the banks of the Ganges.

Lal B. B. - 1976**B. W. - 1000 B. C.**

(2) From the archaeological evidences the following two facts emerge. (a) all the alleged Mahābhārata sites are linked up one with the other with the same kind of material culture

which shows their affinity and contemporaneity, (b) the evidence of flood of Hastinapura and that of a continuation of Painted Grey Ware tradition—though in a diluted form—at Koshambi lends support to the Purāṇic statement of Hastinapura being destroyed by floods in Ganga and consequently of the capital being shifted to Koshambi. With these two observations there is a possibility to say that the PGW culture is Mahābhārata culture. According to the C-14 method of dating, the PGW culture may be assigned broadly to 1000—500 B. C.

Pandya A. V. - 1979

B. W. - 1300 B. C.

(2) The iron bearing upper and the later portion of the PGW culture assigned tentatively to the Vedic Indo-Aryans, has been carbon-dated as c. 1075 B. C. The bronze containing earlier portion of this very stratum at Hastinapur, termed 'Hastinapur II' must therefore belong to c. 12th, 13th Century B. C. or a little earlier....However the matter becomes complicated in view of the archaeological fact that at Hastinapur, where mainly wheat is eaten and cultivated today, rice has been found from the lower portion of PGW deposit (**Chaudhari K. A.** and **Ghosh S. S.**; *Ancient India* X and XI, 1954 and 1955) or of the Hastinapur II deposit (**B. B. Lal**, *Ancient India* X and XI) belong to the terminal phase of the bronze age.

Roy S. B. - 1976

B. W. - 1424 B. C.

(3) Divodas represents the Aryan invaders who destroyed Śambara, representing Harappa civilisation, the date of destruction of which is calculated by the archaeologists as 2000 B. C. Of course further work on the Harappa site is necessary. But the date of the Bhārata War will come after that.

Sharma R. C. - 1979

B. W. - 3102 B. C.

(3) The Indus Valley Civilisation is accepted as 5000 years ago. A Western archaeologist, **Mackay**, during the excavation of Mohenjodaro carried out between 1927 and 1931 A. D. found a steatite tablet depicting some religious imprints. In one of them two persons are holding a tree and the tree-god is seen extending his hands to them. **Mackay** considers that this

depiction is a picture of Lord Kṛṣṇa *vis-a-vis* the famous Yamalārjunalīlā, and some of the Indian scholars including Vasudeva Sarana **Agarwala**, agree with this interpretation (*Mackay's Report*, Part I pp. 344-345, Part II Plate 90 Object No. D. K. 10237). If this assumption is correct, then it will have to be accepted that the chief character of the *Mahābhārata*, namely Lord Kṛṣṇa, had gained so much popularity before 4500 years and from this point of view the period of the Bhārata War will have to be accepted as 5000 years ago.

APPENDIX 2

Chart showing the number of scholars concluding different dates of the Bhārata War
with reference to the different periods

Period	6000 B. C. to 3300 B. C.	3300 B. C. to 3000 B. C.	3000 B. C. to 1500 B. C.	1500 B. C. to 1000 B. C.	Later than 1000 B. C.	Total
Number of scholars	6	60	7	40	7	120

APPENDIX 3

**Alphabetical list of scholars referred to with the years
of their publication and the dates of the
Bharata War as concluded by them.**

<i>Scholar</i>	<i>B. C. date of B. W.</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>
Abhyankar K. V.	3000	1944
Acharya Dharamdev	3100	1979
Acharya Gourishankar	3102	1979
Acharya Ramdev	3139	cf. Purohit R. C.
Agarwal Madalasa Devi	3102	1979
Aiyer V. G.	1194	1901
Alatekar	1432	cf. Pusalkar A. D.
Apte G. S.	3185	cf. Purohit R. C.
Athavale V. B.	3016	cf. Purohit R. C.
Athavale V. V.	3018	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
Aurobindo Sri	1190	1964
Ayengar G. S.	3067	1979
Babu Brindavandas	3101	1979
Basu Girindrashekhara	1416	cf. Roy S. B.
Bentley	575	cf. Krishnamachari M. M.
Bhagawaddatta	3136	1946
Bhagwat W. V.	1400	1973
Bharatiya Bhavanilal	3102	1919
Bhargava Purushottamlal	1000	cf. Swami Bon Maharaj
Bhattacharya Ravindra Kumar	3139	cf. Agarwala G. C.
Bhattacharya T.	1436	cf. Kavishwar G. W.
Buchanan	13th century	cf. Krishnamachari M. M.

<i>Scholar</i>	<i>B. C. date</i>	
	<i>of B. W.</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>
Chatterjee Ashok Kumar	3101	1979
Chatterjee Asim Kumar	1447	1979
Chatterjee B. C.	1400	cf. Roy S. B.
Chaturvedi B. M.	3102	1979
Cunningham A.	1424	cf. Roy S. B.
Daftari K. L.	1275	1940
Dani A. H.	6th century	1976
Dayananda Saraswati	3101	cf. Sarda Harbilas
Deb Harit Krishna	8th century	1919
Deokarni Virajananda	3138	1979
Deshpande Bani	3200	1974
Duff C. Mabel	3102	1899
Duncker	1418	cf. Kavishwar G. W.
Dutt R. C.	1400	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
Dwivedi Hariharanivas	3100	cf. Purohit R. C.
Dwivedi Radheshyam	3102	1979
Fatehsingh	3101	1979
Gurudatta	3102	1970
Iyengar Plindy	1410	cf. Sharma R. C.
Iyer R. C.	3017	cf. Purohit R. C.
Jagannatharao N.	3139	1931
Jha Damodar	3102	1979
Jharap K. N.	3101	1979
Jayaswala K. P.	1424	cf. Kavishwar G. W.
Kale T. G.	1263	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
Kalhana	2446	cf. Major Sen Sharma
Karandikar J. S.	1931	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
Kavishwar G. W.	1447	1979
Kenge C. T.	3102	1979
Ketkar S. V.	1400	1963
Ketkar V. B.	1262	1919

<i>Scholar</i>	<i>B. C. date of B. W.</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>
Khedwal D. N.	1963	1968
Kolhatkar K. K.	3102	1973
Kōta Venkatachalam	3138	1956
Krishnamachari M. M.	3137	Cf. Roy S. B.
Lal B. B.	1000	1976
Lele V. R.	6228	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
Mankad D. R.	3201	1951
Mishra V. N.	1000	1976
Modak J. B.	5000	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
Mujumdar R. C.	1400	cf. Swami Bon Maharaj
Mukherjee	1415	cf. Pusalkar A. D.
Narayanasastri T. S.	3139	1916
Narasimhaswami S. P. L.	3152	cf. Krishnamachari M. M.
Pande C. B.	3137	cf. Gupta S. P.
Pande V. C.	1200	1976
Pandya A. V.	1300	1979
Pargiter F. E.	950	1922
Patel Paramananda	1197	1973
Paul Dhirendranath	15th, 16th century	cf. Krishnamachari M. M.
Pendse B. M.	5228	1976
Phadke H. A.	1000	1979
Poddar R. P.	1500	1979
Pradhan Sitanath	1150	1927
Purohit R. C.	3100	1979
Pusalkar A. D.	15th century	cf. Roy S. B.
Raychoudhari H. C.	9th century	

<i>Scholar</i>	<i>B. C. date of B. W.</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>
Rajaramashastri	3101	cf. Swami Bon Maharaj
Rajwade V. K.	3102	1913
Ramaiah H.	3139	1979
Raman B. V.	3066	1976
Rapson	1000	1962
Ray	3140	cf. Pusalkar A. D.
Ray Nihararanjan	800	1976
Reu Vishweshwaranath	3102	1921
Roy S. B.	1424	1976
Sarda Harbilas	3102	1906
Satawalekar S. D.	3100	1968
Satischandra		
Vidyabhushan	1922	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
Sengupta P. C.	2449	1947
Shankar K. G.	1197	cf. Roy S. B.
Sharma Janakinath	3265	1979
Sharma Rameshchandra	3102	1979
Sharma S. D.	1200	1979
Sharma Tilakadhar	3000	cf. Purohit R. C.
Shastri H. P.	1427	cf. Kavishwar G. W.
Shastri Madhavacharya P.	3102	1979
Shastri Udayavir	3139	1979
Sheshagiri G. S.	3067	1979
Shiamshastri R.	13th century	cf. Purohit R. C.
Sitaram Tatwabhusan	1300	cf. Swami Bon Maharaj
Smith R. Morton	975	1979
Srinivasa Raghavan K.	3067	1979
Swami Bon Maharaj	3136	1979
Swami Mahadevanandagiri	3475	cf. Major Sen Sharma

<i>Scholar</i>	<i>B. C. date of B. W.</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>
Swami Omananda		
Saraswati	3139	1979
Swami Sakhyananda	3067	1979
Tilak B. G.	1400	1915
Triveda D. S.	3137	1937
Umarao Bahadur	3000	cf. Purohit R. C.
Vaidya C. V.	3102	1905
Vaidya R. V.	2786	1967
Varma K. C.	1420	1979
Vartak P. V.	5567	1979
Vivekananda	1400	cf. Roy S. B.
Vedananda Vidyavagish	3135	cf. Agarwala G. C.
Veda Vyasa E.	3138	1982
Wheeler	6000	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
Yudhisthira Mimamsaka	3102	1979

APPENDIX 4

Chronological Statement of dates (B. C.) of the Bharata War arrived at by different scholars.

<i>B. C. date of B. W.</i>	<i>Scholar</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>
6228	Lele V. R.	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
6000	Wheeler	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
5567	Vartak P. V.	1979
5228	Pendse B. M.	1976
5000	Modak J. B.	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
3475	Swami Mahadeva- nanda Giri	cf. Major Sen Sharma
3265	Sharma Janakinath	1979
3201	Mankad D. R.	1951
3200	Deshpande Bani	1974
3185	Apte G. S.	cf. Purohit R. C.
3152	Narasimhaswami S. P. L.	cf. Krishnamachari M. M.
3148	Chandrakant Bali	1979
3140	Ray	cf. Pusalkar A. D.
3139	Acharya Ramdev	cf. Purohit R. C.
3139	Bhattacharya Ravindra Kumar	cf. Agarwala G. C.
3139	Jagannatharao N.	1931
3139	Narayanasastri T. S.	1916
3139	Ramaiah H.	1979
3139	Shastri Udayavir	1979
3139	Swami Omananda Saraswati	1979 1979
3138	Deokarni Virajananda	1979
3138	Kota Venkatachalam	1956

<i>B. C. date of B. W.</i>	<i>Scholar</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>
3138	Veda Vyasa E.	1982
3137	Krishnamachari M.	cf. Roy S. B.
3137	Trivedi D. S.	1937
3136	Bhagavaddatta	1946
3136	Swami B. H. Bon Maharaj	1979
3135	Vedananda Vidyavagish	cf. Agarwal G. C.
3102	Acharya Gourishankar	1979
3102	Agarwal Madalasa Devi	1979
3102	Bhavanilal Bharatiya	1979
3102	Chaturvedi B. M.	1979
3102	Duff C. Mabel	1899
3102	Dwivedi Radheshyam	1979
3102	Gurudatta	1970
3102	Jha Damodar	1979
3102	Kenge C. T.	1979
3102	Kolhatkar K. K.	1973
3102	Rajwade V. K.	1913
3102	Reu Vishweshwaranath	1921
3102	Sarda Harbilas	1906
3102	Sharma R. C.	1979
3102	Shastri Madhavacharya	1979
3102	Vaidya C. V.	1905
3102	Yudhisthira Mimamsaka	1979
3101	Babu Brindavandas	1979
3101	Chatterjee Ashoka Kumar	1979
3101	Dayananda Saraswati	cf. Sarda Harbilas
3101	Fatehsingh	1979
3101	Jharap K. N.	1979

<i>B. C. date of B. W.</i>	<i>Scholar</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>
3101	Rajaramashastri	cf. Swami Bon Maharaj
3100	Acharya Dharamdev	1979
3100	Dwivedi Hariharnivas	cf. Purohit R. C.
3100	Purohit R. C.	1979
3100	Satavalekar S. D.	1968
3067	Ayengar G. S.	1979
3067	Sheshagiri G. S.	1979
3067	Srinivasa Raghavan K.	1979
3067	Swami Sakhyananda	1979
3066	Raman B. V.	1976
3018	Athavale V. V.	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
3017	Iyer R. C.	cf. Purohit R. C.
3016	Athavale V. B.	cf. Purohit R. C.
3000	Abhyankar K. V.	1944
3000	Sharma Tilakadhar	cf. Purohit R. C.
3000	Umarao Bahadur	cf. Purohit R. C.
2786	Vaidya R. V.	1967
2449	Sengupta P. C.	1947
2446	Kalhana	cf. Major Sen Sharma
1963	Khedwal D. N.	1968
1931	Karandikar J. S.	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
1922	Satischandra Vidyabhushan	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
15th, 16th century	Paul Dhirendranath	cf. Krishnamachari M. M.
1500	Poddar R. P.	1979
1447	Chatterjee Asim Kumar	1979
1447	Kavishwar G. W.	1979
1436	Bhattacharya T.	cf. Kavishwar G. W.
1432	Alatekar	cf. Pusalkar A. D.
1427	Shastri H. P.	cf. Kavishwar G. W.

<i>B. C date of B. W.</i>	<i>Scholar</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>
1424	Cunningham A.	cf. Krishnamachari M. M.
1424	Jayaswala K. P.	cf. Kavishwar G. W.
1424	Roy S. B.	1976
1420	Varma K. C.	1979
1418	Duncker	cf. Kavishwar G. W.
1416	Basu Girindrashekar	cf. Roy S. B.
1415	Mukherjee	cf. Pusalkar A. D.
1410	Iyengar Plindy	cf. Sharma R. C.
1400	Bhagwat W. V.	1963
1400	Chatterjee	cf. Roy S. B.
	Bankimchandra	
1400	Dutt R. C.	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
1400	Ketkar S. V.	1963
1400	Mujumdar R. C.	cf. Swami Bon Maharaj
1400	Pusalkar A. D.	cf. Roy S. B.
1400	Tilak B. G.	1915
1400	Vivekananda	cf. Roy S. B.
1300	Pandya A. V.	1979
1300	Sitaram Tatwabhusan	cf. Swami Bon Maharaj
1275	Daftari K. L.	1940
1263	Kale T. G.	cf. Kolhatkar K. K.
1262	Ketkar V. B.	1919
13th century	Buchanan	cf. Krishnamachari M. M.
13th century	Shiamshastri R.	cf. Purohit R. C.
1200	Pande V. C.	1976
1200	Sharma S. D.	1979
1197	Shankar K. G.	cf. Roy S. B.
1197	Patel Paramananda	1973

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1194	Aiyer V. G.	1901
1190	Aurobindo Sri	1964
1150	Pradhan Sitanath	1927
1000	Bhargava Purushottamlal	cf. Swami Bon Maharaj
1000	Mishra V. N.	1976
1000	Lal B. B.	1976
1000	Phadke H. A.	1979
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975	Smith R. Morton	1979
950	Pargiter F. E.	1922
9th century	Raychoudhari H. C.	
800	Ray Nihararanjan	1976
8th century	Deb H. C.	1919
575	Bentley	cf. Krishnamachari M. M.
6th century	Dani A. H.	1976

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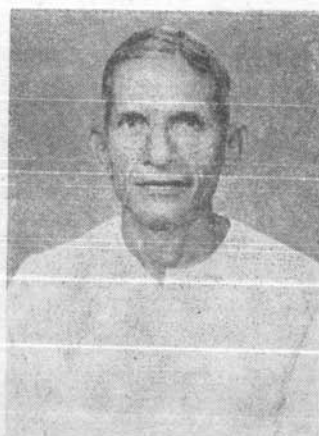
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Born in 1920 at Wai, Satara District, Maharashtra, Shriram Sathe obtained his education at Wai and Bombay. After graduating in science from the Bombay University (1942) he dedicated himself entirely to the task of national reconstruction as a *PRACHARAK* (full-time organiser) of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). As one of the ablest organisers, Shriram Sathe has built a very strong base for the RSS, first in Bombay and later in parts of Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

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